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Edited by

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NOTES ON TUL'SI DAS.

BY G. A. GRIERSON, I. C. S.

(*Continued from p.* 129.)

IT may be useful to give a somewhat fuller account of these works than has been given in the *Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindústán.*

(1) **Râm Lalâ Nahachhû.** Twenty verses of four lines each in *Sôhar-chhand*, consisting of 16 syllables and 22 *mâtras.* A short poem, celebrating the ceremonial touching of Râma's nails before his investiture with the sacred thread. This ceremony will be found described in *Bihâr Peasant Life*, § 1314. A good commentary by Paṇḍit Bandan Pâṭhak, which has been printed at the Khaḍg Bilâs Press, Bânkîpur.

The two opening verses may be taken as a sample of the style and metre—

Âdi Sâradâ, Ganapati, Gauri manâia hô ।
Râma-Lalâ kara nahachhû gâi sunâia hô ॥
Jehi gâê sidhi hôi parama-nidhi pâia hô ।
Kôṭi janama kara pâtaka dûri so jâia hô ॥ 1 ॥
Kôṭinha bâjana bâjahiṅ Dasaratha kê gṛiha hô ।
Dêva-lôka saba dêkhahiṅ ânaṅda ati hia hô ॥
Nagara sohâwana lâgata barani na jâtai hô ।
Kausalyâ kê harakha na hṛidaya samâtai hô ॥ 2 ॥

First revere I Sâradâ, Gaṇêśa and Gaurî, and then sing I the nail-touching of the sweet child[1] Râma. He who singeth it gaineth perfect knowledge and the supreme treasure, and the sins accumulated through countless transmigrations leave him for ever (1).

Myriads of musical instruments sound in Daśaratha's house. The Gods look on rejoicing in their hearts. The city of Oudh seemeth so beautiful that tongue cannot describe it; and the bliss of Kauśalyâ cannot be contained in her heart (2).

(2) **Vairâgya-Sandîpanî** (usually spelled °*dîpinî*) or 'the Kindling of Continence,' or 'of Devotion' (as contrasted with the common expression *kâmâgni-s*°, the kindling the fire of love, exciting sexual desire). In three *prakâśa* or lectures, with an introductory invocation. In verse 7, the poet himself calls the work *Birâga-Sandîpinî.* A good Commentary by Bandan Pâṭhak, with gloss by Mahâdêv Par'sâd, Khaḍg Bilâs Press, Bânkîpur. The contents are described by the names of the various lectures, as follows:—

Invocation I., 1—7.

Prakâśa I., *Sant-Swabhâv-barnan*, an account of the true nature of a holy man. I, 7—33. Metre *Dôhâ, Sôraṭhâ* and *Chaupâî.*

Prakâśa II., *Sant-mahimâ-barnan*, an account of the true greatness of a holy man. II., 1—9. Metre, as above.

Prakâśa III., *Sânti-barnan*, an account of the true Peace. III., 1—20. Metre, as above.

The work is principally composed of short sententious verses. The following may be taken as examples of the language:—

I, 5. *Tulasî, yaha tana khêta hai,*
Mana vacha karma kisâna ।
Pâpa punya dwai bîja hain,
Bawai so lawai nidâna ॥

III, 1. *Raini ko bhûkhana indu hai,*
Diwasa ko bhûkhana bhâna ।

[1] *Lalâ* = *lâl*, a darling.

Dâsa ko bhûkhana bhakti haiñ,
Bhakti ko bhûkhana jñâna ॥ 1 ॥
Jñâna ko bhûkhana dhyâna hai,
Dhyâna ko bhûkhana tyâga ।
Tyâga ko bhûkhana śânti-pada,
Tulasî, amala adâga ॥ 2 ॥

I have noted two verses of the *Vairâgya Sandîpinî*, which are repeated in other works of the poet:—*viz.*, *Bai.* I, 1. This occurs in *Dôhâbalî* (1) and *Sat'saî* (I, 2). *Bai.* I, 15. = *Dôhâbal* (38) and *Sat'saî* I, 107.

The poem being a short one, and containing much of interest to the student of comparative religion, I here give a translation of the whole.

I.—Invocation.

Dôhâ, — On the left of Râma[2] sitteth Sîtâ and on his right Lakshmaṇa: meditation on him thus is ever propitious, and is, O Tul'sî, to thee thy wishing-tree (1). Tul'sî, the darkness of the delusions of this world is nôt wîped away by the virtue of ten million holy deeds: for the lotus of thy heart will ne'er expand, till the sun of the Lord (himself descended from the sun) shineth upon it (2). He heareth without ears, and seeth without eyes. Without a tongue doth he taste. No nose hath he, and yet he smelleth; and no body hath he, yet he feeleth (3). *Sôraṭhâ* — Unborn is he. He alone existeth; his form cannot be comprehended. Utterly free is he of quality, of Mâyâ (illusion)[3] is he the Lord, and for the sake of his servants did he take unto himself the form of man (4). *Dôhâ*, — Tul'sî, this body of thine suffereth. It ever suffereth the threefold woe.[4] It obtaineth not peace, till, by the Lord's might, it reacheth the stage of peace (5). Thy body is a field, thy mind, thy words, thine actions, are the husbandmen. Two seeds are there, Sin and Holiness. As thou sowest, so wilt thou reap (6). This book, the 'Kindling of Devotion' containeth the marrow of all knowledge. It giveth the teaching of the Vêdas and Purâṇas, and the wisdom of all holy books (7).

II.—The Nature of the Holy.

Dôhâ, — Simple are his syllables, simple his language. But, though simple, know thou, that they are full of meaning. Tul'sî, simple is the Holy, and thus mayst thou recognize him (8). *Chaupâî*, — Unimpassioned is he, but giving happiness to all. Just and self-restrained ever singing the praises of the Lord. Ever enlightening the souls of the ignorant, and over for this purpose wandering from place to place (9). *Dôhâ*, — Such men are only here and there. Blessed is the land where many Holy dwell. Ever devoted to helping others, ever devoted to the supreme goal, in love[5] working out their lives (10). Whether he shutteth the door of his mouth, or whether he speaketh the truth,[6] in this world is the Holy man ever discreet[7] (11). When he speaketh, it is with discretion, and full of his own sweet nature: nor ever placeth he his foot on the way which leadeth to pain or angry words (12). He showeth enmity to no man, to no man showeth he over-friendship. Tul'sî! this is the religion of the Holy, ever to speak with even justice (13). *Chaupâî*, — Very true is he to the One, ever keeping his members in subjection. His thoughts dwell on no one but the Lord. For he knoweth in his heart that this world is but a mirage. Tul'sî, by these marks dost thou know him (14),

[2] Râma is, throughout Tul'sî Dâs's philosophy, the equivalent of the Îśvara of Râmânuja's Vêdântic system, I hence translate the word for the future as 'the Lord.' *Vide post*, the remarks on the *Sat'saî*.

[3] Here the poet adopts the language of Śankara Âchârya.

[4] Woe is of three kinds, those from within the body (as disease, &c.), those from God (as a lightning stroke, &c.), and external (as from wild beasts, or serpents). *Cf. Sânkhya Kârikâ*, 1

[5] I take the reading *prîti* not *vritti*.

[6] *Jathâ artha* equal to *yathârtha*.

[7] *e. g.*, even when speaking the truth, he speaks kindly.

Dôhâ, — One trust, one strength, one hope, one faith.[8] As the *châtak*-bird longeth for a rain-cloud in the season of *Swâti*, so longeth he for the Lord (15). He hath no anger nor fault,[9] and is a ship wherein to cross the ocean of existence. He hath abandoned desire, and hath betaken himself to humility and content (16). He betaketh himself to humility; He endureth all things; with heart and mouth, he ever calleth on the name of the Lord. So dwelleth the Holy man, and so doeth he (17). Those who dwell by him, he maketh like unto himself; while the wicked man giveth his soul twofold[10] sorrow. Saith Tul'sî, the Holy man is like Mount Malaya, but without its fault[11] (18). Gentle are the words of the Holy man, falling like nectar on the ear. When the hard heart heareth them, it becometh wax (19). They beget the happiness of comprehending The Supreme;[12] they lift and carry away the errors of this world, and in the heart they are (sharp arrows) piercing sin (20). Cooling are they like unto the beams of the moon. Ten million fevers do they cure in the soul of him on whose ears they fall (21). *Chaupâi*, — They destroy every thorn of sin and sorrow. Like the sun do they clear away the darkness of error. O Tul'sî, so excellent is the pious man that the Scriptures declare that the ocean of his virtue is fathomless (22). *Dôhâ*, — Not by deed, not by thought, not by word doth he ever give pain to any one. Yea, he is such because the Lord dwelleth in him on this earth[13] (23). When thou seest the face of a Holy man, thy sin abandoneth thee. When thou touchest him thy deeds[14] depart. When thou hearest his words the error of thine heart is swept away, and bringest thee to Him from whom thou camest (24). Very gentle is he, and pure even in his desires. In his soul is there no defilement. On his Master alone is his heart ever stayed (25). Him, from whose heart hath departed every worldly longing, doth Tul'sî praise with thought, and word, and deed (26). To him gold is the same as a piece of glass; women are but as wood or stone. Such an Holy man, is a portion of the supreme Deity upon earth (27).

Chaupâi, — Gold looketh he upon as clay, woman as but wood or stone. Of these things the flavour hath he forgotten. That man hath the Lord manifest in his flesh (28).

Dôhâ, — Free of worldly possessions, his members in subjection, ever devoted to the Lord alone, such an Holy man is rare in this world (29). He hath no egoism, nor maketh any difference between 'I' and 'thou,' (but knoweth that all are but parts of the Lord). No evil thought is ever his. Sorrow doth not make him sorrowful, nor doth happiness make him happy (30). Equal counteth he gold and glass. Equal counteth he friend and foe. Such an one is counted in this world an Holy man (31). Few, few wilt thou meet in this world, Holy men who have freed themselves from all illusion: for in this iron age men's natures are ever lustful and crooked, like the peacock and the crow[15] (32). He who hath wiped out 'I' and 'thou,' and the darkness of error, and in whom hath risen the sun of 'know thyself': know him as Holy, for by this mark, saith Tul'sî, is he known (33).

III.—The Greatness of the Holy.

Sôraṭha.—Who, O Tul'sî, can tell with a single mouth, the greatness of the Holy man? For the thousand tongued serpent of eternity, and Siva himself with his fivefold mouth cannot describe his spotless discernment (34). *Dôhâ*, — Were the whole earth the tablet, the ocean the ink, all the trees turned into pens, and Ganêśa himself the learned recorder, that greatness could

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[8] Comm. *âsâ man kâ châh'nâ, bharôsâ buddhi kâ, biswâs chitt kâ, bal ahankâr kâ.*

[9] Or, if we read *dwêkha*, for *dôkha*, he hath neither love nor hatred.

[10] Sorrow for the wicked man's unhappy state, and sorrow caused by the persecution of the wicked.

[11] Mt. Malaya is famous for its sandal trees which give their scent to all who approach it, good and bad alike. Its fault is its origin. It was originally a pile of ordure.

[12] Comm. *anubhava-sukha brahma-sukha.*

[13] Lit., he is Râma's form upon the earth. The corresponding idea in English is that given above.

[14] Thy *karma*. The consequences of thy good and bad actions. Every action binding the soul to earth and separating it from the Lord.

[15] The peacock, fair without and mean within. The crow, black without and within.

not all be written (35). Blessed, twice blessed, are his mother and his father. Blessed are they that he is their son, who is a true worshipper of the Lord, whatever he be in form or shape (36). Blessed would be the skin of my body, if it but form the sole of the shoe of him from whose mouth cometh the name of the Lord, even though it be by mistake (37). The lowest of the low is blessed, if he worship the Lord day and night; but what availeth the highest caste, if the Lord's name is not heard therein (38). Behold, how on very high mountains are the dwelling places of snakes, but on the lowest low lands grow sweet sugarcane and corn and betel (39). *Chaupai*, — Tul'sî saith, I have seen the good men of all nations, but none is equal unto him, who is the single-hearted servant of the Lord, and who night and day at every breath reiterateth his name (40). Let the Holy man be ever so vile by birth or station, still no high-born man is equal unto him. For the one day and night uttereth the Name, while the other ever burneth in the fire of pride (41). *Dôhâ*,—The Servant of the Lord is ever devoted but to the one Name. He careth not for bliss or in this world or hereafter. Ever remaining apart from the world, he is not scorched by the fire of its pains (42).

IV.—Perfect Peace.

Dôhâ, — The adornment of the night is the moon, the adornment of the day is the sun. The adornment of the servant of the Lord is Faith, and the adornment of that faith is Perfect Knowledge (43). The adornment of this knowledge is Meditation, the adornment of meditation is total Self-surrender to the Lord, and the adornment of self-surrender is pure and spotless Peace (44).

Chaupâi, — This Peace is altogether pure and spotless, and destroyeth all the troubles mankind endureth. He who can maintain such peace within his heart ever remaineth in an ocean of rapture (45). The sorrows which are born of the threefold sins,[16] the intolerable hoard of grief begotten of faults committed, — all these are wiped away. Him, who remaineth rapt in Perfect Peace, doth no woe e'er approach to pierce (46). O Tul'sî, so cool[17] is the Holy Man, that ever he remaineth free of earthly cares. The wicked are like serpents, but what can they do unto him, for his every limb hath become a sure medicine[18] against their bite (47).

Dôhâ, — Very cool is he, and very pure, free from all taint of earthly desire. Count him as free, his whole existence rapt in Peace (48).

Chaupâi, — In this world, call thou him cool, who never uttereth words of anger from his mouth, and who, when pierced in front by sharp arrows of words, never feeleth one trace of wrath (49). *Dôhâ*,—Search ye the seven regions,[19] the nine continents,[20] the three worlds,[21] and ye will find no bliss equal to Peace (50). *Chaupâi*,—Where Peace hath been imparted by the True Teacher, there the root of anger is consumed, as if by fire. Earthly lusts and desires fade away, and this is the mark of Peace (51). Peace is a bliss-giving ocean, whose shining actions holy sages have sung. Him, whose body and soul are rapt in it, no fire of self can burn (52).

Dôhâ, — In the fire of self, burneth the whole universe, and only the Holy escape, only because that they have Peace (53). Peace is like unto a mighty water, which when a man toucheth he becometh peaceful, and the fire of self consumeth him not, though (the wicked) try with countless efforts (54). His virtues[22] become glorious as the sun, which when the world seeth it marvelleth; but he who hath once become as water, becometh again not as fire (55).

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[16] Sin is of three kinds, and it is committed by thought (*mânasa*), by word (*vâchaka*), or by deed (*kâyaka*).

[17] The expression "cool" has a peculiar significance in a hot climate like India. The poet describes what constitutes "coolness" in the following verses.

[18] The *garala sila* is said to be a stone on smelling which a person bitten by a snake recovers.

[19] The *sapta dvîpa*, *Jambu* and the others.

[20] The *nava khaṇḍa*, *Bharata* and the others, named from the nine sons of *Rishabhadêva*.

[21] Earth, heaven and the world of the departed.

[22] Virtues in the sense of "qualities," not "good qualities."

Albeit it is cool, and gentle, pleasure giving, and preserving life, still count not Peace as water,[28] for as fire also are its virtues (56).

Chaupâi,— Those mortals ne'er have Peace even in a dream, whose way is that they blaze, they burn, they are angry, they make angry, they spend their lives in love and hate alternately (57). *Dôhâ*, — He is learned, he is skilled, he is wise and holy, he is a hero, he is alert, he is a true warrior (58), he is full of wisdom, he is virtuous, he is generous and full of meditation, whose soul is free from passion and from hate (59).

Chaupâi, — The fire of Passion and Hate is extinguished. Lust, anger, desire are destroyed. O Tul'sî, when Peace hath taken up its abode within thee, from thy heart of hearts ariseth a loud cry for mercy (60). *Dôhâ*, — There ariseth a loud cry to the Lord for mercy. Lust and its crew are fled, even as the darkness fleeth ashamed before the arising sun (61).

Good man, hear thou with attention this 'Kindling of Devotion,' and where thou meetest an unfit word, correct it (and forgive the poet) (62).

(3) **Barawê** or **Barawai Râmâyan**. In the *Barawâ* metre (6 + 4 + 2 + 4 + 2 + 1 = 19 *mâtrâs*). In 7 *kâṇḍs* or cantos. *Kâṇḍ* I, *Bâl-kâṇḍ* vv. 1-19. *Kâṇḍ* II, *Ayôdhyâ-kâṇḍ* vv. 20-27. *Kâṇḍ* III, *Âraṇya-kâṇḍ*, vv. 28-33. *Kâṇḍ* IV, *Kishkindhya-kâṇḍ*, vv. 34-35. *Kâṇḍ* V, *Sundar-kâṇḍ*, vv. 36-41. *Kâṇḍ* VI, *Laṅkâ-kâṇḍ*, v. 42. *Kâṇḍ* VII, *Uttar-kâṇḍ*, vv. 43-69. A good commentary by Bandan Pâṭhak, another by Baij'nâth, published by Nawal Kishôr, Lucknow. Paṇḍit Sudhâkara Dvivêdî is of opinion that this work is incomplete as it stands now. No other work of the poet is without a *mangala*, or introductory invocation.

After three introductory verses in praise of Sîtâ's beauty, the poem follows the story of the *Râmâyan*, in an extremely condensed and often enigmatic form. Thus, the whole narrative of the *Kishkindhyâ-kâṇḍ* is given in two verses, and of the *Laṅkâ-kâṇḍ* in one verse; as follows:

Kishkindhyâ-kâṇḍ.

Syâma gaura dou mûrati Lachhimana Râma ।
Ina tê bhai sita kîrati ati abhirâma ॥ 1 ॥
Kujana-pâla guna-barajita akula anâtha ।
Kahahu kṛipâ-nidhi râura kasa guna-gâtha ॥ 2 ॥

(Hanumân points them out to Sugrîva and says): 'These two forms, one dark and the other fair, are Râma and Lakshmaṇa. They have won (lit. from them is sprung up) a spotless glory, very charming (to him who hears the tale).' (When Râma had killed Bâli, and set Sugrîva on the throne. The latter approached him and said), 'Tell me, Abode-of-mercy, how I can sing thy virtues. I am but a lord of *ku-janas* (monkeys), without a single virtue of my own, of mean birth, and with no protector (except thee).'

Laṅkâ-kâṇḍ.

Bibidha vâhanî vilasata sahita ananta ।
Jala-dhi sarisa ko kahai Râmâ bhagawanta ॥

(On hearing about Sîtâ from Hanumân), the holy Râma (started for Laṅkâ) glorious with an army (*vâhanî* for *vâhinî*) of many kinds (of animals), accompanied by the Serpent of Eternity (*i.e.* Lakshmaṇa who was its incarnation). Who dare say that (the army) was like the sea? (For the sea is destructive, but Râma's army was for the benefit of mankind, as with it he conquered Laṅkâ.)

[28] This requires explanation. The poet has in the last few verses compared Peace with water and contrasted it with fire. But, he says, the comparison must not be carried too far, for water, though it assuages thirst, &c., has but temporary effects, and thirst returns, while the effects of Peace are permanent. On the other hand, fire, though a burning destroyer, is also an universal purifier, and as such resembles Peace.

(4) **Pârbatî-mangal.** The marriage song of Pârvatî. Sixteen stanzas. Each composed of sixteen or twenty-four lines in *Aruṇa*[24] *chhand*, followed by four lines in *Harigîti-chhand*, a total of 360 lines or *charans*.

The poem describes the marriage of Umâ, or Pârvatî, to Śiva,—well known to readers of the *Kumâra Sambhava*. It is a favourite subject with Tul'sî Dâs, (*cf. Râm. Bâ*, 75 and ff.), who makes skilful use of the contrast between the snowy purity and grace of the daughter of the Himâlaya, and the terrifying horrors of Śiva's appearance. The tale may well be described as telling the legend of the marriage of pure Aryan Nature-worship to the degrading demon-worship of the aborigines of India. The following example describes the approach of Śiva's gruesome marriage procession to Umâ's home :—

Bibudha bôli Hari kaheu nikaṭa puru âeu ।
Âpana âpana sâju sabahiṅ bilagâeu ॥ 97 ॥
Pramatha-nâtha kê sâtha Pramatha-gana râjahiṅ ।
Bibidha bhâṅti mukha bâhana bêkha birâjahiṅ ॥ 98 ॥
Kamaṭha khapara maḍhi khâla nisâna bajâwahiṅ ।
Nara-kapâla jala bhari bhari piahiṅ piâwahiṅ ॥ 99 ॥
Bara anuharata barâta banî Hari hansi kaha ।
Suni hia haṅsatu Mahêsu kôli kautuka maha ॥ 100 ॥
Baḍa binôdu maga môdu na kachhu kahi âwata ।
Jâi nagara niarâni barâta bajâwata ॥ 101 ॥
Pura kharubharu ura harakheu Achalu Akhaṇḍalu ।
Paraba udadhi umageu janu lakhi bidhu-maṇḍalu ॥ 102 ॥
Pramudita gê agawânu bilôki barâtahi ।
Bhabharê banai na rahata na banai parâtahi ॥ 103 ॥
Chalê bhâji gaja bâji phirahiṅ nahiṅ phêrata ।
Bâlaka bhabhari bhulâna phirahiṅ ghara hêrata ॥ 104 ॥
Dînha jâi janawâsa supâsa kiê saba ।
Ghara ghara bâlaka bâta kahana lâgê taba ॥ 105 ॥
Prêta betâla barâtî bhûta bhayânaka ।
Barada chaḍhâ bara bhâura sabai kubânaka ॥ 106 ॥
Kusala karai karatâra kahahiṅ hama sâṅchia ।
Dêkhaba kôṭi biâha jiata jauṅ bâṅchia ॥ 107 ॥
Samâchâra suni sôchu bhaeu mana Mainahiṅ ।
Nârada kê upadêsa kawana ghara gai nahiṅ ॥ 108 ॥
Chhand. ॥ *Ghara-ghâla-châlaka kalaha-priya kahiata parama paramârathî* ।
Taisê barêkhî kînha puni muni sâta swâratha sârathî ।
Ura lâi Umahiṅ anêka bidhi jalapati janani dukha mânaî ।
Himawânu kaheu Isânu-mahimâ agama nigama na jânaî ॥ 13 ॥

(*Śiva, with his retinue of ghosts and goblins attended by all the other gods, approaches the bride's home. The gods, headed by Vishṇu, can hardly conceal their laughter at his strange array*). Hari addressed the gods and said 'The city is now near. Let us each march separately, each with his own retinue.[25] Goblins will look best in attendance on their lord.' (So Śiva's

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[24] *Aruṇa-chhand*. 20 *mâtrâs*, with pause at the 11th. The last two syllables must be one *mâtrâ* each. The metre is not mentioned by Kellogg, or by Colebrooke in his essay on Sanskrit and Prâkrit Poetry. It is described in the *Gaṇa-Prastâraka-Prakâśa*, of Râm Dâs Udâsî, which gives the first two lines of the *Pârbatî-mangal* as an example. *Harigîti-chhand*, also called *Mahîsharîe-chhand* is well known. Described by Kellogg on p. 20 of his prosody, not mentioned by Colebrooke. It has seven feet in each line (4 × 5) + 6 + 2 = 28 *mâtras*. Pause at the 16th instant, secondary pause at the 9th. The last syllable of each *charan* must be long. This is the standard of the metre, but there are many varieties, which, while having 28 *mâtras*, with the last syllable of each *charan* long, do not follow the orthodox divisions. This is the case in the *Pârbatî-mangal*.

[25] This is simply a piece of mischief on Hari's part, to make Śiva's retinue more ghastly by contrast.

retinue assembled), conspicuous with many kinds of faces, vehicles and dresses. They played on kettle drums made of skin stretched over tortoise-shells or skulls, and filling human skulls with water they drink from them, and give each other to drink. Hari laughing cried, 'Like bridegroom, like procession;' and Mahêśa, as he heard his words, also laughed in his heart at the outlandish contortions of his followers. Sporting mightily they went along the road. No tongue could describe their diversions, as, when the procession neared the city, the music began. When the stir rose in the city, the Unscathed Mountain[26] rejoiced in heart, as the ocean swells when it sees the face of the Moon at its change. The heralds joyfully went forward to meet the God, but when they saw his procession, in terror they could neither stand still nor run away. The elephants and horses fled in dismay and the latter refused to answer to their reins, while the children ran for their lives in terror straight back home. (The procession) was led to its lodging place, where all arrangements for their comfort were made, while in every house the children began to tell (their elders) about their adventures. 'The bridegroom's people are demons, goblins, and frightful ghosts. The bridegroom is a maniac riding on a bull and of terrible exterior. We declare of a truth, that if God saves us, and we do not die of fright, we shall see countless weddings.' When Mainâ heard the news, grief filled her soul. 'What house hath Nârada's counsel not destroyed?'[27]

Chhand.—A desolater of homes is he, a lover of strife, though he calls himself a seeker after supreme bliss. So also the seven sages, companions of their own selfish ends, have arranged this marriage.' Full of sorrow the mother lamenting took Umâ to her breast, but Himâlaya said: 'Not even do the Scriptures know the full extent of Śiva's greatness.'

(5) **Jânakî-mangal.** The marriage song of Sîtâ. Twenty-four stanzas, with the same metre as in the *Pârbatî-mangal.* Total 480 lines. The poem describes the journey of Râma with Viśvâmitra from Oudh to Mithilâ, the breaking of Śiva's bow, and Râma's marriage to Sîtâ. The following specimen describes the journey of the young princes, with the saint through the the forest :—

Giri taru bêli sarita sara bipula bilôkahiñ ।
Dhâwahiñ bâla-subhâwa bihaga mṛiga rôkahiñ ॥ 33 ॥
Sakuchahiñ munihi sabhîta bahuri phirî âwahiñ ।
Tôri phûla phala kisalaya mâla banâwahiñ ॥ 34 ॥
Dêkhi binôda pramôda prêma Kausika ura ।
Karata jâhiñ ghana chhâṅha sumana barakhahiñ sura ॥ 35 ॥
Badhî Tâḍakâ Râma jâni saba lâyaka ।
Bidyâ mantra rahasya diê muni-nâyaka ॥ 36 ॥
Maga-lôganha kê karata suphala mana lôchana ।
Gae Kausika âśramahiñ bipra bhaya-môchana ॥ 37 ॥
Mâri nisâchara-nikara jajña karawâeu ।
Abhaya kiê muni-bṛinda jagata jasu gâeu ॥ 39 ॥
Bipra-sâdhu-sura-kâju mahâmuni mana dhari ।
Râmahiñ chalê liwâi dhanukha-makha misu kari ॥ 40 ॥
Gautama nâri udhâri paṭhai pati-dhâmahiñ ।
Janaka-nagara lai gaeu mahâmuni Râmahiñ ॥ 41 ॥
Chhand. ॥ *Lai gaeu Râmahiñ Gâdhi-suana bilôki pura harakhê hiê ।*
Muni-râu âyê lêna âeu sachiwa guru bhûsura liê ॥
Nṛipa gahê pâya asisa pâi mâna âdara ati kiê ।
Abalôki Râmahiñ anubhavata janu Brahma sukha sau gunawiê ॥ 5 ॥

[26] So I translate *achalu akhandalu*, in the sense of Umâ's father, the Himâlaya. It may also be translated 'the firm, the unbroken one,' *i.e.*, Śiva.

[27] Nârada was a great stirrer up of dissension and was the author of the ruin of many families.

The princes looked about them at the mountains, trees, creepers, rivers and large lakes, and in their boyish way ran after the birds and deer to try to catch them. Then remembering in awe the saint, they would turn back to him in fear, and, plucking fruit, flowers and tender twigs, would weave them into garlands. Love filled Viśwâmitra's heart as he watched their playful sport. The clouds cast shade, the gods dropped flowers on them. When Râma had slain Taḍakâ, the mighty saint knew that he was all-fitted for his task, and imparted to him the mystic charm of knowledge. Satisfying the hearts and eyes of the people on the way, driving away the fears of the holy men, they arrived at Kauśika's hermitage. There the boy prince attacked and defeated the demon army, and gave the hermits security for their sacrifices, while the whole world sang his glory. Then the great saint, intent upon the needs of Brâhmaṇas, saints, and gods, induced Râma to accompany him (to Mithilâ) on the pretext of the sacrifice of the bow. On the way the prince wrought salvation for Ahalyâ, Gautama's wife, sending her to her husband's abode, and then, the great saint conducted Râma to Mithilâ, the city of Janaka.

Chhand. The son of Gâdhi (Viśwâmitra) conducted Râma, and gazed upon the city with his heart full-filled with joy. Hearing of his arrival, the king (Janaka) with ministers of state and honorable Brâhmaṇas came forth to meet the lord of saints. The king himself clasped his feet and earned his blessing, showing him hospitable reverence: and then, as his eyes fell upon Râma, he felt as if the Almighty had multiplied his happiness a thousand times.

(6). **Śrî Râmâjñâ, or Śrî Râmâgyâ, or Râm-Sagunâbalî.** The Commands of the Holy Râma, or The Collections of Râma-omens. Metre *Dôhâ.* In seven *adhyâyas* or lectures, of seven *saptakas* or septads, each containing seven pairs of *dôhâs.* Each *adhyâya* forms a sort of running commentary or summary of the corresponding *kâṇḍa* of the *Râmâyaṇa.* Each verse or pair of *dôhâs* is used as a means of foretelling the success or otherwise of anything undertaken. It is a kind of *Sortes Virgilianæ.* The inquirer takes three handfuls of lotus seed. He counts the first handful out by sevens, and whatever number remains over, is called the number of the *adhyâya.* Again he counts out the second handful in the same way, and whatever is over is the number of the *saptaka*; and similarly, whatever number is over from the third handful is the number of the *dôhâ.* Thus if there are 53 seeds in the first heap, the number of the *adhyâya* is 4 (*i. e.* 49 (= 7 × 7) + 4. If there are 108 in the second heap the number of the *saptaka* is 3 (15 × 7 + 3 = 108), and if there are 15 in the third heap, the number of the *dôhâ* is one. In this case the verse which is to be accepted as an omen is the first verse of the third septad of the fourth lecture. If the number of any handful is exactly divisible by seven, then the remainder is considered to be seven. There are other ways of finding out the verse based on the same principle, which need not be detailed here. The following is a specimen of this work. It is the third septad of the third lecture:—

Mâyâ-mṛigu pahichâni Prabhu chalé Śiya-ruchi jâni |
Bañchaka chôra prapañcha-kṛita saguna kahaba hitahâni || 1 ||
Śiya harana-abasara saguna bhaya sansaya santâpa |
Nâri-kâja hita nipaṭa gata pragaṭa parâbhava pâpa || 2 ||
Gîdha-râja Râvana samara ghâyala bîru birâja |
Śûra sujasu saṅgrâma mahi maranu susâhiba kâja || 3 ||
Râma Lakhanu bana bana bikala phirata Śiya-sudhi lêta |
Śûchata saguna bikhâdu baḍa asubha arishṭā achêta || 4 ||
Raghubara bikula bihaṅgu lakhi sô bilôki dou bîra |
Śiya-sudhi kahi Siya Râma kahi tajî dêha mati-dhîra || 5 ||
Dasaratha tê dasa-guna bhagati sahita tâsu kari kaju |
Sôchata bandhu samêta Prabhu kṛipâ-sindhu Raghu-râju || 6 ||
Tulasî sahita sanêha nita sumirahu Sîtâ Râma |
Saguna sumangala subha sadâ ádi madhya parinâma || 7 ||

Though he saw through (Mârîcha's disguise as) the false deer, the Lord, knowing Sîtâ's longing, went forth. This must be called a disastrous omen of a deceiving thief, produced by illusion.

The omen of the opportunity for the rape of Sîtâ is one of fear, and doubt, and anguish. Especially in reference to a woman's actions, doth it portend defeat and sin.

The Vulture-king fought with Râvaṇa, and, wounded, shone forth as a hero. In the contest (this is the omen of) the glory of the valiant—that is death in cause of the Good Master.

Râma and Lakshmaṇa wander distraught through the forest, seeking for news of Sîtâ. They point to an omen of great sorrow, of unlucky, senseless misfortune.

When Râma saw the bird (Jaṭâyu, the vulture-king) distraught, and he saw the two heroes, he gave him news of Sîtâ, and, crying 'Sîtâ Râma,' with steadfast soul gave up the ghost. (This is an omen of salvation after death.)

The Lord Râma, the Ocean of pity, performs the funeral ceremonies of that (vulture), whose faith was ten times that of Daśaratha, and with his brother, grieves for the loss of his friend. (This is a good omen for those who believe.)

O Tul'sî, ever meditate with love on Sîtâ and Râma,—an omen ever fortunate and lucky, at the beginning, at the middle, at the end.

The following interesting legend about the composition of the *Râmâgyâ* has been communicated to me by Bâbû Râm Dîn Singh. At that time the Râjâ of Kâśî Râj Ghâṭ in Banâras was a Gaĥawâr Kshattriya (to whose family the Râjâs of Mâṅṛâ and Kantit now belong). His son went out on a hunting expedition with the army, and one of his people was killed by a tiger. This gave rise to a rumour, which reached the king, that it was the prince who had suffered, and full of anxiety he sent to Pah'lâd Ghâṭ to summon a well-known astrologer named Gangâ Râm Jyôtishî. On the astrologer's arrival he asked him to prophesy the exact time at which the prince should return from his hunting expedition. If his prophesy turned out true he would be rewarded with a *lâkh* of rupees, but, if false, his head would be cut off. Dismayed at this peremptory order, Gangâ Râm asked for time till tomorrow morning to calculate out his answer, and under this pretext obtained permission to return to his house at Pah'lâd Ghâṭ, where he spent some very bad quarters of an hour.

His dearest friend was Tul'sî Dâs, who was living close by in the suburb of Asî, and the two holy men were in the habit of meeting constantly and at the time of evening prayer taking the air in a boat on the river Ganges; accordingly, on this evening, Tul'sî Dâs came in his boat to Pah'lâd Ghâṭ, and called out for Gangâ Râm' who, however, was too much occupied with his own unhappy thoughts to notice the cry, though it was repeated again and again. At length Tul'sî sent a boatman to see what was the matter, who returned with a message that the Jyôtishî was just then unwell and would not go out that evening. On hearing this, the poet landed and went to his friend's house, and seeing him in tribulation asked him what was the matter. On being told the cause, Tul'sî Dâs smiled and said, 'Come along. What cause for tribulation is this? I will show you a means of extricating yourself, and of giving a correct reply.' Consoled by these words, and trusting fully to Tul'sî Dâs's almost divine knowledge, Gangâ Râm went out with him and, as usual, offered his evening prayer. On their returning together to Pah'lâd Ghâṭ, after nightfall, Tul'sî Dâs asked for writing materials, but no pen or inkstand, only some paper could be found. So the poet took some catechu out of his betel box for ink, and began to write with a piece of ordinary reed (not a reed pen). He wrote on for six hours without stopping, and named what he had written, *Râmâgyâ*. He gave the manuscript to Gangâ Râm, and showing him how to use it for purposes of divination (as previously explained) went home to Asî. Gangâ Râm then consulted the oracle, and found that the prince would return all well next evening. Early in the morning he went to Tul'sî Dâs, and told him what he had divined from the manuscript. The poet directed him to go and tell the

Râjâ accordingly. He therefore went to Râj Ghât, and declared to the Râjâ that the prince would return all well that evening. The Râjâ asked at what hour, and the astrologer replied 'one *ghaṛî* before sunset.'[28] Thereupon the Râjâ ordered Gangâ Râm to be kept in confinement till further orders. Sure enough, at the very time predicted by the astrologer the prince returned, and the Râjâ, overcome with joy at his arrival, forgot altogether about the former, and his promised reward. Five or six *ghaṛîs* after nightfall, Gangâ Râm sent word to him that the prince had returned, and asked why he was still in prison. Then the Râjâ remembered and hurriedly calling for him, offered him with much respect the promised *lâkh* of rupees. Gangâ Râm at first replied, 'Mahârâj, neither will I take this money, nor will I ever practice prophecy again. It is too dangerous. A moment's inadvertence may cost me my head.' The Râjâ, full of shame, replied, 'What I said, I said when I was not responsible for my words. Show favour to me by forgetting them, forgiving your humble slave, and accepting this money.' The astrologer at first consented to take a small sum, but the Râjâ would hear no excuse, and insisted on sending him and the whole lâkh, to his home in charge of a guard of soldiers. Gangâ Râm, took the money direct to Tul'sî Dâs at Asî, and laid the whole amount at his feet. The poet asked him why he had brought it. 'Because,' replied the astrologer, 'the money is yours, not mine. Why should I not bring it to you? My life has been saved and the money earned by your grace alone. It is for this reason that I am come to you. It is more than enough for me that my life has been saved.' 'Brother,' said the poet, 'the grace was not mine. All grace cometh from the Holy Lord Râma and his blessed spouse Sîtâ. You and I are friends. Without Râma's grace, who can save whom, and who can destroy whom? Take now away this money to your home, where it will be useful. What need have I of this world's goods?' But Gangâ Râm refused to be persuaded, and these two good and holy men spent the whole night arguing as to who was the rightful owner of the money. At dawn, Tul'sî Dâs was persuaded to keep ten thousand rupees, and helped the astrologer to convey the remaining ninety thousand to the latter's house. With the ten thousand rupees, he built ten temples in honour of Hanumân, with an image of the God in each. These ten temples exist to the present day, and may be known by the fact that they all face south.

Tul'sî Dâs is believed to have composed other works to assist divination,[29] but the one which is admitted on all hands to be authentic is the *Râmâgyâ*, of which the copy written by his own hand, with the reed-pen, and the catechu ink, was in existence at Pah'lâd Ghât up to about thirty years ago. As stated above, a large number of verses of the *Râmâgyâ* are repeated in the *Dôhâbalî*.

(To be continued.)

A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF THE KALYANI INSCRIPTIONS.

DHAMMACHETI, 1476 A. D.

BY TAW SEIN KO.

(Continued from p 159.)

Ēvaṁ Laṅkādīpē sāsanapatiṭṭhānatō chasu vassasatēsu kiñci aparipuṇṇēsu yēva, Laṅkādīpē bhikkhū tidhā bhinnāti : tayō nikāyā jātā. Tēsu Mahāvihāravāsinikāyō v'accantaparisuddhō dhammavādī; sēsā dvē nikāyā aparisuddhā adhammavādinō. Tatō paṭṭhāya Laṅkādīpō anukkamēna dhammavādinō appatarā dubbalā; adhammavādinō pana bhikkhū bahutarā balavantā. Tē vividhā apatipattiyō duppaṭipattiyō vā patipajjanti. Tēna sāsanaṁ samalaṁ sakaṇṭakaṁ s'abbudaṁ jātaṁ.

Laṅkādīpē sāsanapatiṭṭhānatō dvēsattādhikacatusatādhikē vassasahassē, Satthuparinibbānatō pana aṭṭh 'uttarasattasatādhikē vassasahassē vītivattē, Sirisaṅghabōdhi-

[28] Paṇḍit Sudhâkar Dvivêdî justly points out that this sentence marks the whole story as apocryphal. The *Râmâjñâ* cannot be used for such divination as this. It only discloses good or bad omens for commencing a new work. See *dôhâs* 1-3 of the last saptad, where this is clearly stated.

[29] The *Râm Salâkâ* is one.

Parakkamabāhumahārājassa Laṅkādīpē rajjâbhisēkapattatō aṭṭhārasamē vassē, rājā apaṭipattiduppaṭipattiyō paṭipajjantānaṁ sāsanâvacarikūnaṁ bhikkhūnaṁ dassanē, sāsanassa uppanna-mala-kaṇṭak'-abbuda-bhāvaṁ ñatvā: "Yadi mādisō sāsanassa uppanna-mala-kaṇṭak'-abbuda-bhāvaṁ jānitvā pi, yathā sāsanaṁ parisuddhaṁ bhavēyya; tathā byāpāram anāpajjitvā v'upēkkhakō viharēyya; tathā sati Sammāsambuddhō sukara-pēmâbhipasāda-gārava-cittikārabahulō na bhavēyya. Appēva nāmâhaṁ **Uḍumbaragirivasī Mahākassapathērapamukhassa** sammapatipattipaṭipannassa **dhammavādinō Mahāvihāravāsisaṅghass' upatthambhakaṁ katvā,** yath Āsōkō dhammarājā Mōggaliputtatissamahāthēram upanissayaṁ katvā, vibhajjavādī Sammāsambuddhō ti vadantass' accantaparisuddhassa dhammavādinō mahatō bhikkhusaṅghass' upatthambhakaṁ katvā, sassatādivādi Sammāsambuddhō ti vadantē aparisuddhē saṭṭhisahassamattē pāpabhikkhū uppabbājētvā, sāsanassa visōdhanaṁ karēyyan ti. Evam ēvâham pi apaṭipatti-duppaṭipattiyō paṭipajjantē aparisuddhē adhammavādinō bahū pāpabhikkhū uppabbājētvā, Mahāvihāravāsinikāyam ēkanikāyam avasēsētvā sāsanavisōdhanaṁ karēyyan ti" cintētvā, tathā katvā, sāsanavisōdhanam akāsi. Bhikkhūnañ ca katikavattaṁ kārāpēsi. Pacchâpi ca **Vijayabāhurājā ca, Parakkamabāhurājā ca,** sāsanavisōdhanatthaṁ katikavattaṁ kārāpēsuṁ.

Tatō paṭṭhāya Laṅkādīpē accantaparisuddhassa sammāpatipattipaṭipannassa dhammavādinō Mahāvihāravāsibhikkhusaṅghassa pavēṇibhūtō ēkanikāyabhūtō bhikkhusaṅghā yāv 'ajjatanā pavattati.

"Tasmā byattē paṭibalē bhikkhū sammad ēvâyācanēn 'ajjhōsētvā, Laṅkādīpē suparisuddham upasampadaṁ sammāharāpētvā, imasmiṁ Rāmaññadēsē patiṭṭhāpētvā, saddhāsampannānam upasampadâpekkhānaṁ kulaputtanaṁ tad upasampadaṁ gāhāpētvā, sāsanaṁ nirāsaṅk 'upasampadabhāvâpajjanēna parisuddhaṁ pariyōdatāṁ hutvā, yāvapañcavassasahassaparimāṇakālapariyanta-pavattanasamatthaṁ karēyyan ti." **Tatō Rāmādhipatirājā Mōggalānathērādayō bāvisatithērē nimantētvā** ēvam āyāci: "amhākam idāni bhantē, Rāmaññadēsē bhikkhūnam upasampadā sāsaṅkū viya khāyati. Tasmā sāsaṅk'upasampadâdhīnaṁ sāsanaṁ kathaṁ yāvapañcavassasahassaparimāṇakālapariyantā ṭhassati? Sīhaḷadīpē ca bhantē, sāsanapatiṭṭhānatō paṭṭhāya yāv' ajjatan 'accantaparisuddhō Mahāvihāravāsisaṅghaparaṁparabhūtō bhikkhusaṅghō pavattati. Yadi bhantē, **tumhe Sīhaḷadīpaṁ gantvā,** Mahāvihāravāsisaṅghaparaṁparabhūtasaṅghatō parisuddhaṁ garahaparūpavādamattavirahitaṁ gaṇam uccinitvā, **Sammāsambuddha-dēha-sītali-karaṇaṭṭhānabhūtāya Kalyāṇigaṅgāya sajjitāyam udakukkhēpasimāyam upasampadaṁ sammāharēyyātha;** tad upasampadaṁ sāsanabījaṁ katvā, rōpētvā, idha Rāmaññadēsē saddhāsampannānaṁ upasampadâpēkkhānaṁ kulaputtānam upasampad 'aṅkuraṁ nippajjāpēyyāma. Tathā sati sāsanam idaṁ parisuddhaṁ hutvā, yāvapañcavassasahassaparimāṇakālapariyantā ṭhassati.

Sīhaḷadīpagamanañ ca bhantē, tumhākaṁ mahapphalaṁ bhavissati, mahânisaṁsaṁ. Sīhaḷadīpaṁ pattā pi bhantē, tumhē tatha Siridāṭhādhātuñ ca, Dakkhiṇasākhâdayō Bōdhirukkhē ca, Ratanacētiyâdīni cētiyāni ca, Samantakūṭapabbatamatthakē ṭhitaṁ Bhagavatō Padavalañjacētiyañ ca, vandituñ ca pūjituñ ca lacchēyyātha. Tēna bhantē, tumhākam anappakapuññâbhisandō vaḍḍhissati. Tasmā Sīhaḷadīpagamanāya tumhākaṁ santikē varam āsisāmāti."

Atha tē thērā Sāsanavuḍḍhihētukattā: "Mahārāja, dhammikā tē varâsisā. Sīhaḷadīpagamanañ ca nō accantam ēvânappakō puññâbhisandō vaḍḍhissati. Tasmā varan tē damma, Sīhaḷadīpaṁ gacchissāmāti" vatvā paṭiññam adaṁsu.

Atha rājā thōrānaṁ paṭisāsanaṁ labhitvā: pañcasaphala-suvaṇṇaviracitaṁ thūpikôparipatiṭṭhāpitaṁ mahaggh' inda-nīla-maṇimayam ēkaṁ sēlapattañ ca; saṭṭhiphala-suvaṇṇâbhisaṅkhataṁ sâdhārakapidhāna-pattañ ca; tiṁsaphala-suvaṇṇaparikataṁ suvaṇṇaghaṭañ ca; tiṁsaphala-suvaṇṇa-sajjitaṁ dvādasakōṇa-taṁbūla-pēṭakañ ca; tēttiṁsaphala-suvaṇṇâbhisaṅkhataṁ cētiyasaṇṭhānaṁ suvaṇṇamayadhātumandiraṁ ca; phalikamayaṁ dhātumandiraṁ ca; masūragallasadisa-kūcamaṇi-parisaṅkhataṁ dhātumandiraṁ ca; suvaṇṇamūlañ câti; ——ettakaṁ Siridāṭhādhātupūjāsakkāram abhisaṅkari paṭisajji.

Ratanacētiyâdi-cētiya-Pādavalañja-bavīsa-Bōdhirukkha-pūjanatthāya ca: nānāvaṇṇāni pañcâsītivitānāni ca; suvaṇṇalimptē madhusitthamayē paññāsamahādīpē ca; suvaṇṇalimpitē madhusitthamayē paññāsadīpē câbhisaṅkhari.

Sīhaḷadīpavāsīnaṁ mahāthērānam atthāya: sukhumānaṁ kappāsadussānaṁ cattālīsamañjūsē ca; kōsēyyamayāni ca kappāsamayāni ca rattavaṇṇa-pītavaṇṇa-cittavaṇṇa-dhavalavaṇṇavasēna nānāvaṇṇāni vīsatipāvuraṇāni ca; cittavaṇṇāni Haribhuñjadēsiyāni vīsatitambūlapētakāni ca; catassō sēlamayakuṇḍikāyō ca; aṭṭha[1] Cinadēsiyā cittakuṇḍikāyō ca; vīsati Cinadēsiyā bījaniyo ca paṭisajji.

Api ca Rāmaññadēsissarō dhavalagajapatibhūtō Rāmādhipatirājā Sīhaḷadīpavāsīnam ayyānaṁ mahāthērānaṁ sakkaccam abhivādētvā, sandēsapaṇṇam idaṁ nivēdēsi: "Siridūthūdhūtâdipujanatthāya bhantē, mayā pahitēhi pūjāsakkārēhi Siridūṭhādhātâdayō pūjētuṁ byāpāraṁ karōyyātha. Sasissēhi bāvīsatiyā thērēhi saddhiṁ pēsitā Citradūta-Rāmadūtâbhidhānā saparijanā Siridūthūdhātuṁ passituṁ vā, vanditum vā, pūjitum vā, yathā labhissanti; tathā ayyā, vāyāmaṁ karōntu. Siridūṭhūdhātu-dassanâbhivādanapūjanāni katvā, sasissā bāvīsati thērā Mahāvihāravāsipavēṇibhūtabhikkhusaṅghatō garahaparūpavādamattavirahitaṁ gaṇam uccinitvā, Bhagavatā nahānaparibbōgēna paribhuttāya Kalyāṇīgaṅgāya sajjitāyam udakukkhēpasimāyam upasampadaṁ yathā labhissanti; tathā ayyā, vāyāmaṁ karōntûti." Ēvaṁ Sīhaḷadīpavāsīnaṁ mahāthērānaṁ pāhētabbasandēsapaṇṇam abhisaṅkhari.

Sīhaḷissarassa pana Bhūvanēkabāhurājassa: dvisataphala-rūpiy' agghanikē dvē nīlamaṇayō ca; timsâdhikacatusataphal'agghanikē dvē lōhitaṅkamaṇayō ca; dīghakañcukatthāya katāni gīvakkhakatinitambapādaṭṭhānēsu parisaṅkhatacittakāni mahagghāni cattāri Cinapaṭṭāni ca; dhavala-nīlavaṇṇāni bhasmanibhāni purimapupphikāni tīṇi ghana-Cinapaṭṭāni ca; dhavala-nīlavaṇṇāni bhasmanibhāni maṭṭhāni dvē ghana-Cinapaṭṭāni ca; dhavalavaṇṇaṁ maṭṭham ēkaṁ ghana-Cinapaṭṭañ ca; haritavaṇṇāni vāyimapupphikāni dvē ghana-Cinapaṭṭāni ca; haritavaṇṇaṁ maṭṭham ēkaṁ ghana-Cinapaṭṭañ ca; mēcakavaṇṇāni maṭṭhāni dvē Cinapaṭṭāni ca; pītavaṇṇavāyimapupphikam ēkaṁ ghana-Cinapaṭṭañ ca; rattavaṇṇa-vāyimapupphikamēkaṁ pēlava-Cinapaṭṭañ ca; dhavala-nilavaṇṇaṁ bhasmanibhaṁ vāyimapupphikamēkaṁ pēlava-Cinapaṭṭañ câti: vīsati Cinapaṭṭāni, Pavityâbhidhānabhiyyāni vīsaticitrakōsēyyavatthāni ca; cammakōsâvirahitānaṁ tattarikānaṁ dvēphalasatāni câti;——ēttakaṁ pahēṇakaṁ paṭisaṅkhari. **Sīhaḷissarassa Bhūvanēkabāhurājassa Sīhaḷavāsikamahāthērānaṁ pahitē sandēsapaṇṇē vuttavacanasadisēna sandēsavacanēna viracitaṁ suvaṇṇapaṭṭañ ca paṭisaṅkhari.**

Ēvaṁ rājā yaṁ yattakaṁ paṭisaṅkharitabbaṁ taṁ sabbaṁ paṭisaṅkharitvā, bavīsatithērānaṁ ticīvaratthāya, sukhumakappāsadussānaṁ catucattālīsamañjūsāni ca; Marammadēsiyāni uṇṇāmayāni bāvīsatipāvuraṇāni ca; bāvīsaticitracammakhaṇḍāni ca; Haribhuñjadēsiyāni sapidhānāni bāvīsaticitratambūlapēṭakāni ca dātvā; maggantaraparibbayatthāya ca, bhōsajjatthāya ca, bahuṁ dēyyadhammaṁ datvā; tēsaṁ sissabhūtānaṁ pi bāvīsatibhikkhūnaṁ bāvīsati-Katiputtâbhidhānavatthāni ca: Marammadēsiyāni ghanapupphāni bāvīsatipāvuraṇāni ca datvā; **sissēhi saddhiṁ tō bāvīsatithērē Citradūta-Rāmadūtâbhidhānānaṁ dvinnaṁ dūtānam appētvā** yatnāvuttaṁ dhātupūjāsakkāraṁ ca; Sīhaḷiyānaṁ mahāthērānaṁ pāhētabbadēyyadhammaṁ ca, sandēsapaṇṇaṁ ca, Bhūvanēkabāhu-Sīhaḷissarassa pahēṇakaṁ ca, sandēsasuvaṇṇapaṭṭaṁ ca dūtānaṁ hatthē adāsi. **Bāvīsatigaṇānaṁ ca thērānam dubbhikkhâdyantarāyē sati, catupaccayam uppādaṁ katvā dūtuṁ, suvaṇṇajūtakāni dvēphalasatāni dūtānam adāsi. Tatō sasissē Mōggalānathērādayō ēkādasathērē Rāmadūtēna saddhim ēkanāvam abhirūhāpēsi. Sasissē Mahāsīvalitherâdayō ēkādasathērē Citradūtēna saddhim ēkanāvam abhirūhāpēsi.**

REVERSE FACE OF THE SECOND STONE.

Atha Rāmadūtâbhiruḷhā nāvā muni-sikhi-nāga-sakkarājē māghamāsassa kāḷapakkhē ēkādasamīyaṁ ādiccavārē Yōgabhidhānanadīmukhatō nikkhamitvā, samuddaṁ

[1] Cha in MS. (B).

pakkhantā. Citradūtâbhiruḷhā pana nāvā **māghamāsassa kāḷapakkhē dvādasamīyaṁ candavārē** Yōgâbhidhānanadīmukhatō nikkhamitvā, samuddaṁ pakkhanditvā, chēkēna nīyamānā, **phagguṇamāsassa kāḷapakkhē aṭṭhamīyaṁ Kalambutitthaṁ pattā.**

Tatō Bhūvanēkabāhu-Sīhalarājā taṁ pavattiṁ sutvā, phaggunamāsassa kālapakkh' upōsathadivasē, tēsaṁ ēkādasannaṁ thērānaṁ Citradūtassa ca paccuggamanaṁ kārāpētvā, Rāmādhipatimahārājēna dhavalagajapatikuladappaṇēna sammānūnaṁ atidhavalatarasaṅkhakunda-kumuda-sarada-candikā-samāna-gajapati-bhūtēna saddhâdyanēkaguṇagaṇasamaṅginā pahitasandēsapaṇṇabhūtaṁ Citradūtēn' ānitaṁ suvaṇṇapaṭṭaṁ vācāpētvā, ativiya pītisōmanassajātō. Thērēhi ca Citradūtēna ca sammōdanīyaṁ kathaṁ sārāṇīyaṁ vītisārētvā, sayam ēva vaṭṭhahitvā, kappūrēna saddhiṁ tambūladānaṁ katvā, thērānaṁ nivāsanaṭṭhānañ ca piṇḍapātapaccayañ ca dāpētvā, Citradūtassa ca nivāsanatthānañ ca paribbayañ ca dāpēsi.

Punadivasē Citradūto Rāmādhipatimahārājēna pahitadēyyadhammēna saddhiṁ Sīhaḷadēsiyānaṁ mahāthērānaṁ sandēsapaṇṇam adāsi. Atha tē mahāthērā : "yathā Rāmādhipatimahārājassa ruccati, tathā karissāmāti" paṭiññam akaṁsu.

Tatō Citradūtanāvâbhiruḷhā ēkādasathērā, Rāmadūtanāvâbhiruḷhānaṁ thērānaṁ assaṁpattattā : "yāv' ētē saṁpāpuṇissanti, tāva mayaṁ Sīhaḷarañño āyūcitvā[2] (idh'ēva Laṅkādīpē vasissāmāti cintētvā tath'ēva Sīhaḷarañño āyūcitvā, tēsaṁ Rāmadūtanāvâbhiruḷhānaṁ thērānam āgamanam āgamanto vasiṁsu.

Atha Rāmadūtâbhiruḷhā nāvā)[2] Anurādhapuragāmimaggēnâgatattā cavitvā, gamanakālē paṭilōmavātēnâgatattā kicchēna kasirēna gantvā, **citramāsassa sukkapakkhē navamīyam ādiccavārē Valligāmaṁ sampattā.**

Tasmiṁ pana Valligāmē Garavi nāma Sīhaḷiyâmaccō rañño dāmarikakammaṁ katvā paṭivasati. Tassā nāvāya sampattakālē pana, Sīhaḷarañño kanitṭhabhūtā nāvâbhiruḷhō yōdhâbhiruḷhāhi bahunāvāhi saddhiṁ, tēna dāmarikâmaccēna sadhiṁ yujjhanatthāyâbhiyāsi. Tatō sō amaccō bhītō patiyujjhituṁ asakkōntō, tamhā gāmā nikkhamitvā palāyitvā, vanaṁ pāvisi. Tatō rañño kanitthabhūtā Valligāmaṁ labhitvā pativasati. Dāmarikassa panâmaccassa sēnikārayōdhānaṁ Valligāmassa ca Jayavaḍḍhanānagarassa c'antarā tasmiṁ tasmiṁ thānē nilīyitvā, 'gatâgatānaṁ janānam antarāyakarattā, thērēsu ca Rāmadūtē ca Jayavaḍḍhanānagaraṁ gantum icchantēsu pi, rañño kaniṭṭhabhātā tēsa ōkāsaṁ nâdāsi. **Tasmiṁ pana nāga-sikhināga-sakkarāja-bhūtē saṁvaccharē durāsaḷhabhāvā paṭhamâsaḷhamāsassa kāḷapakkhē dutiyāyaṁ tithiyam ēv' ōkāsaṁ labhitvā, thērā ca Rāmadūtō ca Valligāmatō nikkhamitvā, maggantaragamānēna pañcadivasāni vītināmētvā, aṭṭhamīyaṁ Jayavaḍḍhanānagaraṁ sampattā.**

Tatō Bhūvanēkabāhu Sīhaḷamanujindō thērānaṁ Rāmadūtassa c'āgamanapavattiṁ sutvā, paccuggamanaṁ kārāpētvā, Rāmadūtēna samānitaṁ Rāmādhipatimahārājassa suvaṇṇapaṭṭaṁ vācāpētvā, pamuditahadayō vuttanayēn' ēva kattabbapatisanthāraṁ katvā, thērānaṁ Rāmadūtassa ca piṇḍapātañ ca paribbayañ ca dāpētvā, nivāsanaṭṭhānam adāsi.

Punadivasē Rāmadūtō Haṁsavatīpurâdhipēna rañña pahitaṁ dēyyadhammañ ca sandēsapaṇṇañ ca Sīhaḷadēsiyānaṁ mahāthērānam adāsi. Tē sabbē pi mahāthērā Citradūtassa viya Rāmadūtassâpi paṭiññam adaṁsu.

Tatō param ēkamāsē vītivattē, Citradūtanāvâbhiruḷhā Anurādhapurâgatā thērā Ratanacētiyañ ca, Maricivatticētiyañ ca, Thūpārāmacētiyañ ca, Abhayagiricētiyañ ca, Silācētiyañ ca, Jetavanacētiyañ ca, Dakkhiṇasākhaṁ Mahābōdhirukkhañ ca vanditvā, Lōhapāsadañ ca passitvā, tēsu tēsu cētiyaṅgaṇēsu kattabbaṁ tiṇalatāvanapūkārâpaharaṇakiccaṁ sāmatthiyā 'nurūpatō katvā, pūjāsakkārapubbakaṁ vattapaṭipattiṁ pūrētvā, paccāgantvā, Jayavaḍḍhanānagaraṁ sampattā.

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[2] Lacuna supplied from MS. (A).

Tatō Sīhaḷarājā nāvādvayâbhiruḷhā sabbō pi thērā samāgatā tēsaṁ Siridāṭhādhātuṁ dassētuñ ca, vandāpētuñ ca, kālō sampattō ti mantvā, **dutiyâsaḷhamāsassa kāḷapakkhassa pāṭipadabhūtē ādiccavārē vass'upanāyikadivasē**, sabbaṁ Siridāṭhūdhātumandirapāsādaṁ alaṅkārāpētvā, cēlavitānaṁ bandhāpētvā, gandha-dīpa-dhūmamālāhi pūjāpētvā, Sīhaḷadēsiyē mahāthērē ēkamantaṁ vasāpētvā, sasissē nāvādvayâbhiruḷhē bāvīsatimahāthērē ca nimantāpētvā, Citradūta-Rāmadūtē ca pakkōsāpētvā, suvaṇṇamayamandirē Siridāṭhādhātuṁ nīharāpētvā, te bāvīsatithērē ca Citradūta-Rāmadūtē ca passāpēsi, vandāpēsi, pūjāpēsi. Tatō Sīhaḷarājā Rāmādhipatiraññō sandēsaṁ anussaritvā, tēna pahitō suvaṇṇamayadhātumandirē Siridāthādhātuṁ ṭhapāpētvā, tass' upari sētachattaṁ dharāpētvā, dhātuyā pūritaṁ suvaṇṇamayapattañ ca, suvaṇṇamayabhiṅgārañ ca, suvaṇṇamayaṁ dvādasakōṇaṁ tambūlapēṭakañ ca, ṭhapāpētvā, bāvīsatithērānañ ca, Citradūta-Rāmadūtānañ ca dassētvā: "tumhē ca bhantē, Citradūta ca, Rāmadūta ca, Sētagajapatissa yathā sandēsâkāraṁ mē jānantûti" āha. Tatō paraṁ Sīhaḷarājā: "Sētagajapatissa yathā sandēsaṁ karissāmîti," Sīhaḷiyâmaccē āṇāpētvā, nahānaparibhōgēna Bhagavatā paribhuttāya Kalyāṇīgaṅgāya nāvāsaṅghātaṁ kārāpētvā, tass' upari pāsādaṁ kārāpētvā cēlavitānaṁ bandhāpētvā, nānāvidhaṁ pi vitānōlambanaṁ kārāpēsi. **Vidāgamamahāthērañ** ca Mahāvihāravāsipavēṇibhūtabhikkhusaṅghatō pi garahaparūpavādamattavirahitaṁ gaṇaṁ uccināpēsi. Tadā Vidāgamamahāthērō **Dhammakittimahāthēra-Vanaratanamahāthēra-Pañcaparivēṇavāsi-Maṅgalathēra-Sīhaḷarājayuvarājâcariyathērâdikaṁ** catuvīsatiparimāṇaṁ gaṇaṁ uccini. Evaṁ rājā nāvāsaṅghāṭaṁ paṭisajjāpētvā, gaṇañ c' uccināpētvā, **dutiyâsaḷhamāsassa kāḷapakkhē ēkādasamīyaṁ buddhavārē** Dhammakittimahāthērâdayō kammakārakē catuvīsatibhikkhū nimantāpētvā, nāvāsaṅghāṭaṁ abhirūhāpētvā, tēsaṁ catucattālīsānaṁ Rāmaññadēsiyānaṁ bhikkhūnaṁ upasampādanaṁ kārāpēsi.

Tatō Sīhaḷadēsiyānaṁ mahāthērānaṁ pubbō paradēsatō āgatâgatānaṁ bhikkhūnaṁ upasampadadānakālō yathāciṇṇânurūpaṁ tē catucattālīsa-Rāmaññabhikkhū gihibhāvē patiṭṭhāpētvā, **puna Vanaratanamahāthērō** kāsāyadāna-saraṇagamanadāna-vasēna pabbājētvā sāmaṇērabhūmiyaṁ patiṭṭhāpēsi.

Tatō paraṁ buddhavārassa rattiyaṁ, Mōggalānathērō ca, Kumārakassapathērō ca, Mahāsīvalithērō ca, Sāriputtathērō ca, Ñāṇasāgarathērō cāti: pañca thērā catuvīsatiparimāṇassa gaṇassa santikē Dhammakittimahāthēraṁ upajjhāyaṁ, Pañcaparivēṇavāsi-Maṅgalathēraṁ ācariyaṁ, katvā, upasampannā. Dvādasamīyaṁ pana guruvārassa rattiyaṁ, Sumanathērō ca, Kassapathērō ca, Nandathērō ca, Rāhulathērō ca, Buddhavaṁsathērō ca, Sumaṅgalathērō ca, Khujjanandathērō ca, Sōṇuttarathērō ca, Guṇasāgarathērō ca, Dhammarakkhitathērō cāti: dasathērā pana Vanaratanamahāthēraṁ upajjhāyaṁ, Pañcaparivēṇavāsi-Maṅgalathēraṁ ācariyaṁ, katvā, upasampannā. Tatō paraṁ tērasamīyaṁ sukkavārassa divākalē, Cūḷasumaṅgalathērō ca, Javanapaññāthērō ca, Cūḷakassapathērō ca, Cūḷasīvalithērō ca, Maṇisārathērō ca, Dhammarājikathērō ca, Candanasārathērō cāti: satta pi thērā Vanaratanamahāthēraṁ upajjhāyaṁ, Pañcaparivēṇavāsi-Maṅgalathēraṁ ōv' ācariyaṁ, katvā, upasampannā. Tatō paraṁ cuddasamīyaṁ sannivārē, tēsaṁ sissū bāvīsatidaharabhikkhū Pañcaparivēṇavāsi-Maṅgalathēraṁ upajjhāyaṁ, Sīhaḷarājayuvarājâcariyathēraṁ ācariyaṁ, katvā, upasampannā.

Tatō Sīhaḷarājā upasampannē bāvīsati-Rāmaññathērē nimantētvā, bhōjētvā; bhōjanâvasānē ēkaṁ ēkassa ticīvarañ ca. **Gōcaratidēsiyaṁ** ēkaṁ ēkaṁ sāṭiñ ca, vitānañ ca, sīharasēna lēkhitaṁ ēkaṁ ēkaṁ citracammakhaṇḍañ ca, chēkēna candakārēnâbhisaṅkhataṁ hatthidantamayaṁ ēkaṁ ēkaṁ tālavaṇṭabījaniñ ca, ēkaṁ ēkaṁ tambūlapēṭakañ ca, datvā, pun', āha: "**Jambudīpaṁ bhantē**, tumhē gantvā, **Haṁsavatīpurē** sāsanaṁ ujjōtayissatha. Aññadēyyadhammadānēna mē bhantē, kitti na hōti: sati kāraṇē khippaṁ ēva passanadhammatā. Tasmā idānâhaṁ tumhākaṁ nāmapaññattidānaṁ dadēyyaṁ. Evaṁ bhantē, tumhākaṁ yāvatâyukaṁ sā ṭhassatîti" vatvā, Rāmadūtanāvâbhiruḷhānaṁ: **Mōggalānathēra-Kumārakassapathēra-Ñāṇasāgarathēra-Buddhavaṁsathēra-Nandathēra-Rāhulathēra-Sumaṅgalathēra-Dhammarakkhitathēra-Cūḷasumaṅgalathēra-Kassapathēra-Maṇisārathēra-saṅkhātānaṁ** ēkādasannaṁ thērā-

nam: Sirisaṅghabōdhisāmi-Kittisirimēghasāmi-Parakkamabāhusāmi-Buddhaghōsasāmi-Sīhaḷadīpavisuddhasāmi-Guṇaratanadharasāmi-Jinālaṅkārasāmi-Ratanamūlisāmi-Saddhammatējasāmi-Dhammārāmasāmi-Bhūvanēkabāhusāmîti kamēn' ēkādasanāmānidatvā; Citradūtanāvâbhiruḷhānañ ca: **Mahāsīvalithēra-Sāriputtathēra-Sumanathēra-Cūlakassapathēra-Cūlanandathēra-Sōṇuttarathēra-Guṇasāgarathēra-Javanapaññāthēra-Cūḷasīvalithēra-Dhammarājikathēra-Candanasārathēra-saṅkhātānam** ekādasannaṁ thērānaṁ: Tilōkagurusāmi-Sirivanaratanasāmi-Maṅgalathērasāmi-Kalyāṇitissasāmi-Candanagirisāmi-Siridantadhātusāmi-Vanavāsitissasāmi-Ratanālaṅkārasāmi-Mahādēvasāmi-Udumbaragirisāmi-Cūḷābhayatissasāmîti kamēn' ēkādasanāmānī adāsi.

Tatō pana Rāmadūtanāvâbhiruḷhā ēkādasathērā Rāmadūtēna saddhiṁ Jayavaḍḍhanatō nikkhamitvā, Valligāmam ēva paccāgatā. Citradūtanāvâbhiruḷhā pan' ēkādasathērā Samantakūṭapabbatamatthakē ṭhitaṁ Siripadâbhidhānaṁ Padavalañjacētiyaṁ vanditvā, Jayavaḍḍhanam ēva paccāgatā. **Valligāmapaccāgatā** pan' ētē 'kādasathērā **bhaddamāsassa sukkapakkhē dutiyāyaṁ buddhavārē, nāvâbhiruḷhā paccāgantvā, bhaddamāsassa kāḷapakkhe dutiyāyaṁ guruvārē, Yōgâbhidhānanadīmukhaṁ pattā.**

Atha khō **Rāmādhipatirājā** Rāmadūtanāvâbhiruḷhānaṁ thērānaṁ Yōgâbhidhānanadīmukhasampatta-pavattiṁ sutvā: "nakhōpan 'ētaṁ patirūpaṁ, yaṁ mayam ajjhēsitānaṁ Sīhaḷadīpaṁ gantvā, upasampadasammūharikānaṁ thērānaṁ yēna kēnaci parijanēna pēsētvā, paccuggamanaṁ kārāpētuṁ. Appēva nāmâhaṁ sāmaṁ yēva **Tigumpanagaraṁ** gantvā, tēsahassatulāparimāṇakaṁsûpasajjitaṁ mahāghaṇṭaṁ jīvamānaka-Sammāsambuddha-kēsadhātu-cētiyassa assayujapuṇṇamīyaṁ mahāpavāraṇadivasē pūjēyyaṁ, tatō nivattētvā thērānaṁ paccuggamanaṁ karēyyan ti' cintētvā: "yāvâhaṁ Tigumpanagaraṁ pāpuṇissāmi; tāva bhaddantā Tigumpanagarē yēva vasantûti" sandēsapaṇṇaṁ datvā, thērānaṁ vasanaṭṭhānañ ca, piṇḍapātañ ca, paṭisaṅkharāpētvā, samuddagāminiyā jōṅgūnāvāy' ōrōhāpētvā, nadīgāminiyō nāvāyō 'bhirūhāpētvā, Tigumpanagarō vasāpēsi.

Citradūtanāvâbhiruḷhā pan' ēkādasathērā ——"Sētagajapatissa bhantē, Rāmādhipatimahārājass' aññōhi pahita-paṇṇākārēhi, saha mama pitu-Parakkamabāhumahārājassa niccavalañjitasataphala-pariṇāmaṁ phussarāgavajiramaṇiparikataṁ Siridāṭhādhātubimbasaṅkhātaṁ dhammikapaṇṇākāraṁ pahiṇituṁ dūtaṁ pēsētum icchāmi; yāva tassa dūtassa nāvā niṭṭhitaparikammā hutvā, tumhākaṁ nāvāya saddhim ēkatō gantuṁ labhissati, tāv' āgamēthâti" Sīhaḷarājēna vuttattā niyamacintânurūpē Rāmaññadēsa-paccāgamanayōgyē yuttakālē paccāgantuṁ nâlabhiṁsu. Tatō Citradūtēna saddhim ēkādasasu thērēsu Sīhaḷaraññō dūtam āgamantēsu yēva Kalambutitthē pāsāṇ'ōlambakaṁ katvā, ṭhapitaṁ janakāyâbhiruḷhaṁ jōṅgūmahānāvaṁ parūdhâbhidhānō viruddhamahāvātō uṭṭhahitvā, samuddō ōsīdāpēsi. Atha khō Sīhaḷarājā Citradūtanāvāya samuddôsīdanapavattiṁ sutvā, thērē Citradūtañ c'ēvam āha: "yadi tumhākaṁ nāvā n'atthi, mama dūtēna saddhim ēkanāvam abhirūhitvā, paccāgacchēyyāthâti." Tatō thērā ca saparijanō Citradūtō ca Sīhaḷarājassa dūtēna saddhim ēkanāvâbhiruḷhā Kalambutitthatō nikkhamitvā, bāhirasamuddagāminā maggēna āgantvā, Sīhaḷadīpa-Jambudīpānam antarā **Sillamabhidhānasamuddagāminā** maggēna paccāgatā. Atha Kalambutitthatō nikkhamantānaṁ tēsaṁ nāvā rattittayē vītivattō, viruddhamahāvātēna phalitattā samuddôdakanimuggānaṁ pāsāṇasiṅgānam antarā laggitvā, patiṭṭhitā. Atha nāvâbhiruḷhā sabbē janā pāsāṇasiṅgānam antarā patiṭṭhitāya nāvāya nīharitum asakkōṇēyyabhāvaṁ ñatvā, yattakā nāvāya vēḷudārudabbasambhārā santi, tē sabbē gahētvā, uḷumpaṁ katvā, tatrâbhiruḷhā Jambudīpatirass' āsannabhāvēna, **Jambudīpaṁ pattā.**

Tadā Sīhaḷarājadūtō paṇṇākārānam abhāvēna Sīhaḷadīpam ēva paccāgantum ārabhi. Thērā pana Citradūtō ca pattikā va yēna **Nāgapaṭṭanaṁ** tēn' upasaṅkamiṁsu; upasaṅkamitvā Nāgapaṭṭanē Padarikārāmavihāravatthuṁ passitvā, Hēmamālā-Daṇḍakumārâbhidhānānam ubhinnaṁ jāyāpatikānaṁ Siridāṭhādhātuyā Laṅkādīpânayanakālē, samuddatārē dhātupatitthān'ōkāsō **Cinadēsissarēna mahārājēna kārāpitāya mahāguhāya, Buddhapaṭimaṁ vanditvā,** yēna disābhāgēna **Nāvuṭâbhidhānapaṭṭanaṁ** tad'avasariṁsu. **Tasmiṁ pana paṭṭanē Mālimparakāya-**

bhidhānō ca Pacchaḷiyābhidhānō cāti: dvē paṭṭanādhikārinō saṁvaccharē saṁvaccharē dvīhi nāvāhi vāṇijjatthāya parijanē pēsētvā, Rāmādhipatimahārājassa paṇṇākāraṁ pahitattā, tēna Rāmādhipatimahārājēna katapaṭisanthārattā ca, Rāmādhipatimahārājini samupāsanti. Tēna thērānaṁ civaraṁ ca, piṇḍapātaṁ ca datvā, vasanaṭṭhānaṁ datvā, samupāsēsuṁ. Citradūtassa ca paribbayaṁ ca nivāsanavatthuṁ cādaṁsu. "Nāvāgamanakālē yēv' amhākaṁ bhantē, nāvābhiruḷhā Sētagajapatissa sakāsaṁ ayyā gacchantūti." Atha khō Tilōkaguruthērō ca, Ratanālaṅkārathērō ca, Mahādēvathērō ca, Cūḷābhayatissathērō cāti: cattāro thērā catūhi bhikkhūhi saddhiṁ tēsaṁ santikē pativasiṁsu. Avasēsā pana sattathērā: "sattabhikkhūhi saddhiṁ **Kōmālapaṭṭanē** nāvaṁ abhirūhissāmāti" Kōmālapaṭṭanaṁ gantvā vasiṁsu.

Ruddha-sikhi-nāga-sakkarājē pana visākhāmāsassa sukkapakkhē catutthiyaṁ buddhavārē Tilōkaguruthērō ca, Ratanālaṅkārathērō ca, Mahādēvathērō cāti: tayō thērā Mālimparakāyâbhidhānapaṭṭanâdhikāranāvâbhiruḷhā, Cūḷābhayatissathērō pana Pacchaḷiyâbhidhānapaṭṭanâdhikāranāvâbhiruḷhō, Nāvutâbhidhānapattanatō pakkhantā. Tēsu pana tayō thērā thērattayâbhiruḷhāya nāvāya **visākhāmāsassa kāḷapakkhē dvādasamīyaṁ sukkavārē Nāgarāsipabbat'ōkkantanadīmukhapattattā, jēṭṭhamāsassa sukkapakkhō pāṭipadadivasē aṅgāravārō, Kusimanagaraṁ sampāpuṇiṁsu.** Cūḷābhayatissathērō **āsaḷhamāsassa sukkapakkhō tērasamīyam aṅgāravārē Haṁsavatīnagaraṁ sampāpuṇi.**

Kōmālapaṭṭanaṁ gantvā sattabhikkhūhi saha vasantēsu sattasu pana thērēsu Maṅgalathēro nijasissēna bhikkhunā ca, Vanaratanathērasissēna bhikkhunā ca, Siridantadhātuthērasissēna bhikkhunā ca, **rūpa-vēda-nāga-sakkarājē bhaddamāsassamāvāsiyaṁ buddhavārē, Bindaityâbhidhānanāvikanāvâbhiruḷhō, Kōmālapaṭṭanatō nikkhamitvā, kattikamāsassa sukkapakkhe pāṭipadadivasē sukkavārē Nāgarāsipabbat'ōkkantanadīmukhaṁ patvā, ēkādasamīyaṁ candavārē Kusimanagaraṁ patvā, kattikamāsassa kaḷapakkhē cuddasamīyaṁ sukkavārē Haṁsavatīnagaraṁ sampāpuṇi.**

Avasēsā pana chathērā catūhi daharabhikkhūhi saddhiṁ sabbasattānaṁ kammadāyādattā akusalakammapathaṁ atikkamituṁ asamatthattā, aniccataṁ pāpuṇiṁsu. Ahō sabbasaṅkhārā aniccâ ti!

OBVERSE FACE OF THE THIRD STONE.

Nāga-sikhi-nāga-parimāṇē yēva pana sakkarājē, Rāmādhipatimahārājā mahāghaṇṭaṁ **Kōsadhātuchētiyassa** pūjanatthāya **assayujamāsassa sukkapakkhē aṭṭhamīyaṁ guruvārē** nāvāsaṅghāṭôparipaṭisaṅkhatasuvaṇṇakūṭâgārâbhiruḷho bahūhi indavimānâbhidhānâdisuvaṇṇanāvāpamukhāhi nāvāhi purakkhato kamēna gacchanto, **yēna Tigumpanagaraṁ tad avasari.** Tigumpanagaraṁ sampattakālē pana **assayujamāsassa sukkapakkhō tērasamīyam aṅgāravārē,** Rāmadūtanāvâbhiruḷhē 'kādasathērē nimantētvā, nān' aggarasabhōjanēna santappētvā sampavārētvā, ticīvaratthāya c' ēk' ēkassa dvē dvē dussayugē datvā, kattabbapaṭisanthārañ ca katvā, nivāsanaṭṭhānam ēva patāṇāpēsi.

Tatō Rāmādhipatimahārājā tīṇi divasāni mahāsamajjaṁ kārāpētvā, mahāpavāraṇādivasē guruvārē taṁ mahāghaṇṭaṁ Kōsadhātucētiyassa pūjanatthāya cētiyaṅgaṇam ārōpāpēsi. Pāṭipadadivasē sukkavārē pana, Tigumpavāsīnaṁ bhikkhūnaṁ dānaṁ datvā, kapaṇi 'ddhikavanibbakānañ ca dātabbaṁ dēyyadhammaṁ dāpētvā, kūḷapakkhē tatiyāyam ādiccavārē 'kādasanāvāyō sakkaccam alaṅkārāpētvā, paccuggamanatthāya amaccē thērānaṁ santikam appēsi. Ēvaṁ Rāmādhipatirājā thērānaṁ paccuggamanavidhiṁ sajjitvā, catutthiyaṁ candavārē pātō va, Tigumpanagaratō apakkamitvā, kamēna gacchantō aṭṭhamīyaṁ sukkavārē Haṁsavatīnagaraṁ patvā, niccāvāsaṅgārabhutaṁ ratanamandiraṁ pāvisi. Thērē pana **Mahābuddharūpāsannatitthē** yēv'ēkāhaṁ vasāpētvā, dasamīyam ādiccavārē bahunāvāyō sammāpaṭisaṅkharāpētvā, nānādhajapatākēhi sabbatālāvacarēhi ca saddhiṁ amaccâdayō pēsētvā, thērē paccuggāhāpētvā, ratanamandiraṁ ārūhāpēsi.

Tatō pana tē therā ratanamandirâbhidhānaṁ rājamandiraṁ patvā, Siridāthādhātulimpitacandanacuṇṇakaraṇḍakañ ca; Siridāṭhādhātubimbañ ca; Bōdhirukkhasākhāpattabījāni ca;

sāsanavisōdhakassa Sirisaṅghabōdhi-Parakkamabāhumahārājassa ca, Vijayabāhumahārājassa ca, Parakkamabāhumahārājassa ca, sāsanasōdhanavidhidīpakaṁ; bhikkhūhi patipajjitabbānaṁ tēna tēna raññā bhikkhusaṅgham āyācētvā, kārāpitānaṁ katikavattānañ ca dīpakaṁ; Sīhaḷadēsiyēhi thērēhi pahiṇitvā dinnakatikavattapōṭṭhakañ ca; sandēsapaṇṇañ ca; Vanaratanamahāthērēna viracitaṁ gāthābandhañ ca; Bhūvanēkabāhu-Sīhaḷarājassa sandēsapaṇṇañ ca; Rāmādhipatimahārājāssâdaṁsu. Ēvaṁ Rāmādhipatimahārājā thērēhi saddhiṁ kattabbapaṭisanthāraṁ katvā, thērō 'kādasâpi 'paccēkaṁ amaccē āṇāpētvā, bahūhi dhajapaṭākēhi sabbatālâvacarēhi ca saddhiṁ, sakaṁ sakaṁ vihāraṁ pahiṇāpēsi.

Tatō paraṁ Rāmādhipatimahārājass' ētad ahōsi: "Imē pan' ēkādasathērā Sīhaḷadīpaṁ gantvā, tatō parisuddh'upasampadaṁ gahētvā samāyātā. Imasmiṁ ca Haṁsavatīnagarē parisuddhabaddhasimā vā, nadīlakkhaṇapattā mahānadī va, jātassaralakkhaṇapattō mahājātassarō vā suvisōdhanīyaṁ gāmakhēttaṁ vā, n' atthi. Kattha nu khō pan' imē thērā upōsathâdisaṅghakammam upasampadakammaṁ vā kātuṁ labhissanti? Yaṁ nunâhaṁ surakkhanīyaṁ khuddakaṁ gāmakhēttaṁ pariyēsētvā, tatth' ēkaṁ baddhasimam imēhi yēva thērēhi sammad ēva bandhāpēyyaṁ. Tathā sati tatth' ētē thērā upōsathâdisaṅghakammaṁ upasampadakammaṁ vā kātuṁ labhissantîti." Atha khō Rāmādhipatirājā parijanē pēsētvā tathārūpaṁ gāmakhēttaṁ pariyēsāpēsi. **Tatō raññō parijanā pariyēsitvā, Mudhavâbhidhānassa mahācētiyassa pacchimadisāyaṁ vanapariyantē Narasūrâmaccassa gāmakhēttaṁ** khuddakaṁ surakkhanīyan ti ñatvā raññō tath' ārōcēsuṁ. Tatō rājā sayam ēva gantvā taṁ ṭhānam ōlōketvā, surakkhanīyam idaṁ gāmakhēttaṁ paṭirūpam; **ēttha simāsammannan ti cintētvā,** tatth' ēkasmiṁ padēsē bhūmiṁ sōdhāpētvā, sammannitabbasimaṭṭhānaṁ sallākkhētvā, vēmajjhē ēkaṁ sālaṁ kārāpētvā, sālāy' antō ca bahi sālāya sammannitabbasimaṭṭhānañ ca tatō bahi pi yathārucitakaṁ kiñci padēsaṁ harit'upalittaṁ kārāpētvā, samantatō catūsu disāsu vatiṁ kārāpētvā, sakavāṭaṁ catudvāraṁ yōjāpēsi. Tassa gāmakhēttassa ca samantatō aññēhi gāmakhēttēhi saṅkaradōsaṁ paharituṁ, hēṭṭhā bhūmiyañ c' upari ākāsē ca rukkhasākhâdi-sambandham avacchinditvā, vidatthimattagambhīravitthāraṁ khuddakamātikaṁ khaṇāpēsi. Simāsammannaṭṭhānatō pana pacchimadisāyam avidūrē saṅghakammakārakānaṁ ēkādasannaṁ thērānaṁ vihārañ ca bhattasālañ ca nahānakōṭṭhakañ ca vaccakuṭiñ ca kārāpētvā, tē nimantētvā vasāpēsi.

Tatō paraṁ puna pi Rāmādhipatirājā cintēsi: "kiñcâp' ēkādasathērā saddhiṁ ēkādasahi sissabhūtēhi daharabhikkhūhi Sīhaḷadīpatō accantaparisuddhaṁ upasampadaṁ gahētvā, samāyātā; tathâpi' mē sasissā thērā garahaparūpavādamattasambhāvâbhāvavicāraṇavasēna parivīmaṁsitabbā va. Yē pana tēsu garahaparūpavādamattasahitā tēsam accantaparisuddh' upasampadabhāvē pi simāsammutiyā gaṇabhāvē parivajjanam ēv' amhākaṁ ruccati: simāya sāsanamūlabhāvatō hi; suddh' upasampadānaṁ pi garahaparūpavādamattasahitānaṁ simāsammutiyā gaṇabhāvē sati garahaparūpavādamattassâyaṁ sāsanapaccatthikānaṁ ukkōṭanakūraṇabhāvatō câti." (*To be continued.*)

FOLKLORE IN WESTERN INDIA.

BY PUTLIBAI D. H. WADIA.[1]

No. 18.—*The Sleeping Nasîb.*

Once upon a time there lived **two brothers,** one of whom was possessed of ample means, while the other was utterly destitute, but the **rich brother** would not so much as give a handful of barley to save his brother and his poor family from starvation. One day the rich brother had occasion to give a large feast in honour of the nuptials of his children, and although he had invited a large number of his friends to it, he had not so much as sent a servant to ask his brother and his family to join them.

Now the **poor brother,** who had been long out of work, had exhausted all his resources, so that on the day of the feast he and his family had not a morsel of anything to eat, and

[1] For a variant of this tale, see *ante*, Vol. XVII. page 13. *Nasîb* means 'luck, good fortune.'

this had been their state for two or three days past. Towards evening therefore he said to his wife: "Go, wife, and see if you can bring us some of the leavings of the feast. There must be some bones and crumbs left in the pots and dishes; so make haste and do bring us something." The poor woman accordingly went round to the back of her rich relative's house. But she saw at a glance that she was too late, as the pots and pans had already been scrubbed clean, and that there was, therefore, no chance of her getting anything. Just then she saw some white fluid in a large tub, and knew that it was the water in which the rice for the feast had been washed. So she begged of the servants to let her have some of it; but the mistress of the house, who happened to come up at the time, forbade them to give her anything at all. "Even this water has its uses," said she, "and it must not be wasted," and she relentlessly turned her back on her poor relative, who had to walk home to her unfortunate little ones empty-handed.

When she told her husband how she had been treated by his brother's wife, he was beside himself with rage and disappointment, and swore that he would go that very night to the rich barley fields of his brother and bring away some sheaves of barley, in spite of him, to make bread with for his starving little ones. So he took a scythe, and under cover of night stole noiselessly out of his house, and walked up to his brother's barley fields. But just as he was entering one, his further progress was arrested by somebody, who looked like a watch-man, loudly asking him what he wanted.

"I am come here to take home some barley from this field of my brother, since he is determined not to give me anything, although my children are actually dying for want of food. But who are you, to put yourself thus in my way?"

"**I am your brother's nasib (luck)**, placed here to guard his possessions, and I cannot let you have anything that belongs to him!" was the stern reply.

"My brother's *nasíb* indeed!" exclaimed the poor man in surprise; "then, where on earth has **my nasib** stowed himself away that he would not help me to procure the means of subsistence for my starving wife and children?"

"**Thy nasib**!" said the other mockingly; "why, **he lies sleeping beyond the seven seas**: go thither if thou wouldst find and wake him!"

So the poor fellow had to trudge back home just as he had come. The words of his brother's *nasíb*, however, jarred on his memory, and he could not rest till he had told his wife of his interview with that strange being. She, in her turn, **urged him to go and find out his nasib**, and see if he could wake him from his slumbers, as they had suffered long enough from his lethargy.

The husband agreed to this, and the wife borrowed, or rather begged, some barley of her neighbours, ground it, and made it into bread, over which the poor starving children and the unfortunate parents broke their four days' fast. The poor father then took leave of his family, and set out on his journey.

He had proceeded about twelve *kós*, or so, when he again felt the pangs of hunger, and sat down under the spreading shade of a tree to eat a loaf or two of the bread that his wife had reserved for his journey. Just then, a little mango dropped at his feet from the tree, and on looking up, he saw that he was under a mango-tree filled to luxuriance with a crop of young mangoes. He eagerly picked up the fruit and gnawed at it, but to his great disappointment found that it was quite bitter! So he flung it away from his lips, and cursing his fate for not letting him enjoy even so much as a mango, again looked up at the tree and sighed But the tree echoed back his sighs and **said**: "Brother, who art thou? and whither dost thou wend thy way? Have mercy upon me!"

"Oh! do not ask me that question," said the poor man in distress, "I do not like to dwell upon it."

On the tree, however, pressing him further, he replied: "As you are so very anxious to know my history, I shall tell it to you. Learn then first of all that — I am going in search of my *nasîb*, which I am told lies asleep beyond the seven seas! He then unfolded to the sympathising tree the whole doleful tale of his poverty, his brother's brutal treatment of him, and his interview with his brother's *nasîb*.

When the tree had heard all, it said: "I feel very much for you, and hope you will succeed in finding out your *nasîb*. And if ever you meet him, will you not do me the favour to ask him, if he can tell why it should be my lot to produce such bitter mangoes? Not a traveller that passes under me fails to take up one of my fruit, only to fling it from him in disgust on finding it taste so bitter and unwholesome, and curse me into the bargain."

"I will, with pleasure," was our hero's reply, as he listlessly rose and again proceeded on his weary journey. He had not gone many miles, however, when he saw a very strange sight. A large fish was rolling most restlessly on the sandy banks of a river — it would toss itself to and fro, and curse itself at every turn for being so miserable.

Our hero felt much grieved to see the plight the poor creature was in, when the fish, happening to look at him, asked him who he was, and where he was going.

On being told that he was going in search of his *nasîb*, the fish said: "If you succeed in finding your *nasîb*, will you ask him in my name, why it is that a poor creature like myself should be so ill used as to be made to leave its native element and to be tortured to death on these hot sands?"

"Very well," replied our hero, and went his way again.

Some days after this, he arrived at a large city, the towers of which seemed to touch the skies, so grand and beautiful was it. As he proceeded farther into it, admiring its lofty edifices and beautifully built palaces, he was told that the Râjâ of that place was just then engaged in having a new tower built, which in spite of all the skill the best architects bestowed on it, tumbled down as soon as it was finished, without any apparent cause whatever. The poor traveller, therefore, out of mere curiosity, went near the tower, when the Râjâ, who was sitting by, with a disconsolate look, watching the operations of the workmen, was struck with his foreign look and manners, and asked him who he was, and where he was going. Our hero, thereupon, fell at the Râjâ's feet, related to him his strange story, and told him the nature of his errand. The Râjâ heard him through, and then desired him to inquire of his *nâs ib* why it was that the tower he was bent on building collapsed as soon as it reached completion.

The poor man made his obeisance to the Râjâ, and promising to do his bidding, soon took leave of him.

He had not gone very far, however, on what now seemed to be his interminable journey, when he encountered a fine horse beautifully caparisoned and ready bridled, pasturing in a meadow.

On seeing him the steed looked sorrowfully at him and said: "Good Sir, you look as if you were laden with as much care as I am; tell me, therefore, where you are going, and what is the object of your journey?"

Our hero told him every thing, and the horse, too, in his turn, charged him with a message to his *nasîb*. He was to ask that personage, why it was that the gallant steed, so powerful and so handsome, was destined to his utter grief and despair to idle away his life in the manner he did, instead of being made to gallop and prance about under the control of a rider, although he was all-anxious to serve a master and go to the battle field to share his fortunes, whenever he might wish to take him.

"Very well, my friend," replied our hero, "I shall do as you desire." So saying he patted the noble animal on its back and trudged along as before.

But as he proceeded further and further without so much as getting a glimpse of even one of the seven seas he had been told of, our hero felt utterly disheartened, and tired out both in body and mind by the hardships and privations he was going through. So he threw himself under the shade of a large tree and soon fell fast asleep. But in a short time his slumbers were suddenly disturbed by the cries and yells of some eagles that had their nest in the top-most branches of the tree. No sooner, however, did he open his eyes than he saw a huge serpent creeping up the tree to get at the young eagles in the nest. He immediately drew his sword and divided the hideous crawling reptile into three pieces! The poor little eagles in the branches joined each other in a chorus of delight at this, and our hero, covering up the remains of their tormentor with his plaid, sheathed his sword, and soon fell fast asleep again!

When the old birds that had gone out in search of food came back and saw the traveller sleeping under the tree, they were at once seized with the idea that he was the enemy that had so long and so successfully been destroying their progeny; for many times before had that serpent succeeded in climbing the top of the tree and devouring either the birds' eggs or their little ones. So the enraged couple determined to be revenged upon him, and the male bird proposed that he would go and perch himself upon one of the topmost branches, and then fling himself down upon the sleeper with such violence as to crush him to death! The female bird, however, was for breaking the bones of the supposed enemy with one swoop of her powerful wing! At this stage, fortunately for our hero, the young birds interfered, and declared how the man had proved himself their friend by destroying their real enemy, the serpent, the carcass of which they pointed out to them covered up with the plaid! The old birds immediately tore the cloth open, and were convinced beyond doubt of the innocence of the sleeping man. So the old female bird, changing her anger into love, placed herself by his side, and began to fan him with her large wings, while the male flew away to a neighbouring city and pouncing upon a tray full of sweetmeats, temptingly displayed at a pastry cook's bore it away with him, and placed it at the feet of the still slumbering traveller.

When our hero awoke from his slumbers he saw the situation at a glance, and was deeply gratified at the attentions bestowed upon him. So without much hesitation he made a hearty meal of the sweet things he saw before him. It was, in fact, the first hearty meal he had made for many and many a day, and, feeling very much refreshed in body and buoyant in spirits, he told the birds all his story, how he had left his starving children to set out in search of his *nasíb*, how he had travelled to such a distance amidst great hardships and privations, and how he had hitherto met with no success. The birds felt deeply grieved for him, and told him that it was hopeless for him to try to cross the seven seas without their help, and that they would, therefore, as a small return for what he had done for them, give him one of their numerous brood that would carry him on its back and deposit him dry-shod and safe beyond the seven seas.

Our hero was profuse in his thanks to the birds, and soon mounted the back of one of the young eagles, and bidding a hearty farewell to his feathered friends resumed his journey, this time not over hard and rough roads and mountains, or through deep dark jungles, but through the fresh balmy air and the cool transcendant brightness of the skies.

All the seven seas were crossed one after another in quick succession, when from his lofty position in the air he one day perceived a human figure stretched at full length on a bleak and desolate beach. This he was led to believe must be his nasíb, so he asked the good eagle to place him down near it.

The bird obeyed, and our hero, eagerly went up to the recumbent figure and drew away from his head the sheet in which its was enveloped. Finding, however, that it would not wake, he twisted one of the sluggard's great toes with such violence that he started up at once, and began to rub his eyes, and press his brows to ascertain where he was, and who had so rudely awakened him.

"You lazy idiot," cried our hero, half in delight at his success and half in anger, "do you know how much pain and misery you have caused me by thus slumbering peacefully on for years together? How can a man come by his share of the good things of this world while his *nasîb* neglects him so much as to go and throw himself into such a deep slumber in so unapproachable a corner of the earth? Get up at once, and promise never to relapse again into slumber after I depart."

"No, no, I cannot sleep again, now that you have waked me," replied the *nasîb*; "I was sleeping only because you had not hitherto taken the trouble to rouse me. Now that I have been awakened I shall attend you wherever you go, and will not let you want for anything."

"Very well, then," cried our hero, perfectly satisfied, "now look sharp and give me plain and true answers to a few questions I have been commissioned to ask you."

He then delivered to him all the different messages given to him by the mango-tree, the fish, the Râjâ, and the horse. The *nasîb* listened with great attention, and then replied as follows:—

"The mango tree will bear bitter mangoes so long as it does not give up the treasure that lies buried under it.

The fish has a large solid slab of gold hidden in its stomach, which must be squeezed out of its body to relieve it of its sufferings.

As for the Râjâ—tell him to give up building towers for the present and turn his attention to his household, and he will find that, although his eldest daughter has long since passed her twelfth year, she has not yet been provided with a husband, which circumstance draws many a sigh from her heart, and as each sigh pierces the air, the lofty structure shakes under its spell and gives way. If the Râjâ therefore, first sees his daughter married, he will not have any more cause to complain."

Coming then to speak of the horse, the *nasîb* patted our hero on his back, and continued:—

"The rider destined to gladden the heart of that noble animal is none but yourself. Go, therefore and mount him, and he will take you home to your family."

This terminated our hero's interview with his *nasîb*, and after again admonishing him not to relapse into slumber, he mounted his aërial charger once more, and joyously turned his face homewards.

When the seven seas had again been crossed, the faithful bird took him to where he had found the horse, and laid him down safe beside him. The traveller then took leave of the eagle with many expressions of gratitude and going up to the steed stroked him gently and said: "Here I am sent to be your rider! I was predestined to ride you, but as my *nasîb* was lying asleep up to this time, I could not see my way to do so!"

"*Bi'smi'llah*," exclaimed the horse, "I am quite at your service." Our hero, thereupon, mounted the steed and the noble animal soon galloped away with him, and both horse and rider being infused with a sense of happiness did not feel the harships and fatigues of the journey so much as they would have done under other circumstances.

While passing by the river on the banks of which he had perceived the fish writhing in agony, our hero saw that it was still there in the same sad plight. So he at once went up to it, and catching hold of it, squeezed the slab of gold out of its body, restored the poor creature to its element, and putting the gold into his wallet, made his way to the city where he had encountered the Râjâ.

When he arrived there he put up at a *sarâi*, and purchased with the gold acquired from the fish, rich clothes, jewellery, and weapons befitting a young nobleman, and, attiring himself in them, presented himself before the Râjâ.

The Râjâ was surprised to see him, so much changed did he look from his former self, and welcoming him most cordially, gave him a seat of honour in the midst of his nobles. He then inquired of him whether his *nasîb* had given him any solution of the vexed question of the collapse of the tower, and was delighted to hear in reply that so simple a matter was the cause of all the annoyance he had suffered, and all the expense he had been put to. With a view, therefore, to put an end to the difficulty at once, he ordered his daughter to be brought before him, and putting her hand into that of our hero, proclaimed him then and there his son-in-law!

After this the tower stood as erect and firm as the Râjâ wished it, and the whole kingdom resounded with the praises of the traveller who had been the means of contributing to its stability, and no one grudged him the hand of the fair princess as a reward for his services.

After a few days spent in feasting and merry-making, our hero took leave of his father-in-law, and set out on his homeward journey with a large retinue. When he reached the mango tree that produced bitter fruit, and sat down under its branches, surrounded by all the evidences of wealth and honour, he could not help contrasting his former state with his present altered circumstances, and poured forth his thanks to the good Allah, who had hitherto befriended him. He then ordered his men to dig at the roots of the tree, and their labours were soon rewarded by the discovery of a large copper vessel, so heavy as to require the united strength of a number of men to haul it up. When the treasure trove was opened, it was found to be full of gold and jewels of great value, and our hero got the whole laden upon camels, and joyfully resumed his journey home.

When he entered his native place with his bright cavalcade and his lovely wife, quite a crowd of eager spectators gathered round him, and his brother and other relatives who were of the number, although they recognized him, were too awe-struck to address him. So he ordered his tents to be pitched in a prominent part of the town, and put up there with his bride. In due course he caused inquiries to be made regarding his first wife and his children, and soon had the satisfaction of embracing them once more. He was grieved to find them in the same half-starved, ill-clad condition he had left them in, but was nevertheless thankful that their life had been spared so long. His next step was to take his new bride to his first, and therefore more rightful wife, place her hand in hers, and bid her look upon her as a younger sister. This the old lady promised gladly to do.

All his friends and neighbours then called upon him to offer him their congratulations, and even his hard-hearted brother and his wife failed not to visit him, and wish him joy of his good fortune. Seeing now that he was a much richer man than themselves, they tried their best to ingratiate themselves into his favour, and the wife even went so far as to invite his two wives to a grand feast, which she said she was going to give in honour of his happy return and reunion with his family.

Our hero consented to let his wives go to the feast, and the next day the two ladies, attiring themselves in their best clothes and jewels, went to their brother-in-law's house, where a large party, consisting of ladies of the best families, had assembled to do them honour. After some time spent in the interchange of civilities, the whole company sat down to a sumptuous banquet. As the meal proceeded however, what was the surprise of the guests to see, that instead of putting the rich viands into her mouth, the old wife of our hero placed a tiny morsel each time on each of the different articles of her jewellery and on the deep gold embroidered borders of her *sâṛî*. For some time no one dared to question her as to the reason of her strange behaviour, but at last, one old woman, bolder than the rest, and who was, moreover, possessed of a sharp tongue, cried out in a loud voice: "Bîbî, what are you about? You don't seem to have come here to feed yourself, for up to now you have been doing nothing but feed your jewellery and your clothes!"

"You are right, old lady," replied our hero's wife, "you are quite right when you say that I have been feeding my jewellery and clothes; for has not this repast been provided, and all this distinguished company brought together, in honour of our rich clothes and jewellery? There was a time, when neither my husband nor myself was thought fit to partake of our hostess's hospitality; nay, at one time, even so much as a bucketful of water in which rice had been washed for a feast, was refused to me, although my husband, my children and myself were starving! And all that because then we were not possessed of these fine clothes, and this jewellery!"

With these words she took her co-wife by the hand, and the two turning their backs on their hostess, walked majestically out to their palanquins and returned home!

The chagrin, disappointment, and rage of the hostess knew no bounds at this, especially as all her guests, instead of taking her part, began to laugh at her, and told her she had been well served for her ill-mannered pride and her hard-heartedness to her relatives when in distress. Nay, to shew their contempt for her, they all left the feast unfinished, and went away to their homes in rapid succession.

Our hero passed the rest of his life with his two wives and their children very happily ever afterwards, and had never again any cause to complain against his *nasib*.

MISCELLANEA.

THE DATE OF SUNDARA-PANDYA-JATAVARMAN.

Dr. Hultzsch has published materials for calculating the date of **Sundara-Pâṇḍya-Jaṭâvarman**, *ante*, Vol. XXI. pp. 121-2 and 343-4. He has given parts containing dates of two inscriptions of Sundara-Pâṇḍya. One belongs to the 9th and the other to the 10th year of his reign. The details of the date of the 9th year inscription are (*ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 343):— Tribhuvanachakrava[r]ttiga[l] śrî-**Sundara-Pâṇḍiyadêvaṟkku** yâ[ṇ]ḍu 9âvadu Ishava-nâ[ya]ṟṟu pûrvva-pakshattu pañchamiy[u]m Se[v*]vây-kkiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Puṇarpûśattu nâḷ. — "In the 9th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Sundara-Pâṇḍyadêva**, — on the day of (*the nakshatra*) Punarvasu, which corresponded to Tuesday, the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Ṛishabha." And the details of the date of the 10th year inscription are (*ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 121):— Kô=Chchaḍaipaṇmar=âṇa Tribhuvaṇachchakravarttigaḷ emmaṇḍalamuṇ=koṇḍ-aruḷiya śrî-**Sundara-Pâṇḍiyadêvaṟ**[ku] yâṇḍu 10vadu pattâvaḍu Ṛishabha-nâyaṟṟu apara-[pa]kshattu Budaṉ-kiḻamaiyum prathamaiyum peṟṟa A[ṉi]]attu nâḷ. "In the 10th — tenth — year (*of the reign*) of king **Jaṭâvarman**, *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Sundara-Pâṇḍyadêva**, who was pleased to conquer every country, — on the day of (*the nakshatra*) Anurâdhâ, which corresponded to Wednesday, the first *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Ṛishabha."

In his 10th year inscription Sundara-Pâṇḍya tells us that he conquered Kaṇḍa-Gôpâla and Gaṇapati. Dr. Hultzsch gives a date of Gaṇapati in the Śaka year 1172, and tells us from other sources that he died in Śaka-Samvat 1180. He also gives three dates of Kaṇḍa-Gôpâla, which are as follows:—

No. I.

On the south wall of the so-called "rock" (malai) in the Aruḷâḷa-Perumâḷ temple.

Svasti śrî Śakara-yâṇḍu 1187 peṟṟa Tiribuvaṇachchakarava[r]ttigaḷ śrî-vijaya-**Kaṇḍa-Gôpâladêvaṟkku** yâṇḍu 15vadu Miduṇa-nâyaṟṟu apara-pakshattu trayôdaśiyum Śaṇi-kkiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Rôśaṇi-nâḷ.

"Hail! Prosperity! In the 15th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious and victorious **Kaṇḍa-Gôpâladêva**, which corresponded to the Śaka year 1187, — on the day of (*the nakshatra*) Rôhiṇî, which corresponded to Saturday, the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mithuna."

No. II.

On the north wall of the second prâkâra of the Êkâmranâtha temple.

Svasti śrî Śakara-yâṇḍu 1187 peṟṟa Tiribuvaṇachchakkarava[r]ttigaḷ śrî-viśaiya-**Kaṇḍa-Gôpâladêvar**[k*]ku yâṇḍu 1[6]vadu Siṁha-nâyaṟṟu apara-pakshattu tritîyaiyum Śaṇi-kkiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Uttirâḍattu nâḷ.

"Hail! Prosperity! In the 1[6]th year of *etc.*, which corresponded to the Śaka year 1187, — on the day of (*the nakshatra*) Uttarâshâḍhâ, which corresponded to Saturday, the third *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Simha."

No. III.

On the same wall as No. I.

Svasti śrî Śakara-yâṇḍu 118[7] perṟa Tiribuvaṉaśakkarava[r]ttigaḷ śrî-viśaiya-Kaṇḍa-Gôpâladêvaṟkku yâ[ṇ*]ḍu 1[6vadu] Simha-nâyaṟṟu apara-pakshattu tritîyaiyum Śaṉi-kkiḻamaiyum perṟa Uttiraṭṭâdi-nâḷ.

"Hail! Prosperity! In the 1[6th] year of *etc.*, which corresponded to the Śaka year 118[7], — on the day of (*the nakshatra*) Uttara-Bhadrapadâ, which corresponded to Saturday, the third *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Simha."

The details of these three dates are correct for the Śaka years quoted with them; except that the *nakshatra* of No. II should be Uttarâ-Bhâdrapadâ instead of Uttarâshâḍhâ.

The English equivalents of these three dates are:— No. I. Saturday, the 13th June A. D. 1265; and Nos. II. and III. Saturday, the 1st August A. D. 1265. The Śaka years in these three dates are expired, while that in the date of Gaṇapati is current.

From these data Dr. Hultzsch has already pointed out that the year fitting to the details of the 10th year inscription of Sundara-Pâṇḍya should be sought for between the Śaka years 1172 and 1190.

The 10th year inscription in which Sundara-Pâṇḍya alludes to his victory over Kaṇḍa-Gôpâla, is dated in the solar month of Vṛishabha. We see from the date No. I. of Kaṇḍa-Gôpâla that his accession must have taken place not before the commencement of the month Mithuna of Śaka-Saṁvat 1172 expired. The first available month Vṛishabha after this is that of Ś.-S. 1173 expired. The Śaka year, therefore, for Sundara-Pâṇḍya's 10th year inscription does not fall before Ś.-S. 1173 expired. Strictly speaking, therefore, we should seek for the Śaka year fitting to the details of the 10th year inscription of Sundara-Pâṇḍya, between the years 1173 and 1190 expired, both inclusive. Consequently, the Śaka year for his 9th year inscription should be sought between the years 1172 and 1189 expired, both inclusive. Taking, however, one year more on each side, I find that the Śaka years 1181 and 1182 expired are the only years corresponding respectively to the details of the 9th and 10th year inscriptions of Sundara-Pâṇḍya. I may say here, once for all, that the Śaka years in my calculation are all taken as expired years.

Tuesday, and the Punarvasu *nakshatra* falling on a *śukla pañchamî* in the solar month of Vṛishabha, are the requirements of the 9th year inscription; and Wednesday, and the *nakshatra* Anurâdhâ falling on a *kṛishṇa pratipadâ* in the solar month Vṛishabha, are required for the 10th year inscription. In both the inscriptions the solar month is Vṛishabha. Parts of two lunar months, Vaiśâkha and Jyêshṭha, fall in the solar month Vṛishabha. First I searched for the years, in which the given week days fell on the given *tithis* of Vaiśâkha and Jyêshṭha. I need not give here all these years. I calculated afterwards in which of these years the given week days, the *nakshatras*, and the solar month fell together; and found that the three required things for the 9th and 10th year inscriptions, respectively, fell together, actually or nearly, in the Śaka years 1181 and 1182, and again in 1184 and 1185. Also, taking each inscription separately, there is no other year for either of them.

Of the above two pairs of years, first I take the latter. According to the present *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, in Saka-Saṁvat 1185, the *amânta* Vaiśâkha *śukla pûrṇimâ* ended and the *kṛishṇa pratipadâ* commenced on Wednesday, the 25th April, A. D. 1263, at 4 *ghaṭis* 25 *palas*; and the *nakshatra* Viśâkhâ ended and Anurâdhâ commenced at 23 *gh.* 23 *pa.*, Ujjain mean time (*i. e.* at so many *ghaṭis* and *palas* after mean sunrise at Ujjain). So, two of the three requirements fell together after 23 *gh.* 23 *pa.* from mean sunrise on the Wednesday. But the Vṛishabha-saṁkrânti took place on the same day at 44 *gh.* 7 *pa.* (Ujjain mean time), which was 45 *gh.* 16 *pa.* of the apparent time on that day at Trichinopoly, the place of the 10th year inscription. In finding the apparent time, I have taken for Trichinopoly latitûde 10° 47′ and longitude 78° 43′ east of Greenwich, and 3° 0′ east of Ujjain (see Johnston's Atlas). There seem to be two systems at present of commencing a solar month civilly (see *South-Indian Chronological Tables*, p. 7 f.). According to one, when a *saṁkrânti* takes place before sunset, the month is made to begin on the same day; while, if it takes place after sunset the month begins on the next day. According to the other system, when the sun enters a sign within three of the five parts into which the day-time is divided, the month begins on the same day; otherwise, it begins on the next day. In the present instance, the solar month Vṛishabha did not begin on the Wednesday by either of the two systems. Even if we take the actual time of

the *saṁkrânti*, the month began at about midnight; but no religious ceremony is likely to take place after midnight. According to the first *Ârya-Siddhânta*, which is the authority in the Tamiḷ country, the solar month in question actually commences about 4 *ghaṭis* earlier; that is at about 40 *gh.* (Ujjain mean time); but that hour also is too late. So, Śaka-Saṁvat 1185 is not the year of the 10th year inscription.

Now as regards the 9th year inscription. According to Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, in Śaka-Samvat 1184, Vaiśâkha *śukla pañchamî* ended on Tuesday, 25th April, A D. 1262, at 19 *gh.* 40 *pa.* (Ujjain mean time); and up to about 33 *gh* from sunrise there was the *nakshatra* Punarvasu. But here again, the Vṛishabha-saṁkrânti took place, according to the present *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, on the same day at 28 *gh.* 36 *pa* (Ujjain mean time). So, only after this time on that day the three requirements, the week day, the *nakshatra*, and the solar month, came together. Moreover, the *tithi*, *pañchamî*, was not current with them, though it was current at sunrise and up to 19 *gh.*

Taking the 9th year inscription alone, this year might be taken fitting, though not satisfactorily, to the details of its date. But taking both the inscriptions together, there remains no doubt that Śaka-Samvat 1184 is not the year of the 9th year inscription. So Śaka-Samvat 1184 and 1185 are not the years of the 9th and 10th year inscriptions respectively.

The other pair of years Śaka-Saṁvat 1181 and 1182 is, however, quite satisfactory. In Ś.-S 1181, Vaiśâkha *śukla pañchamî* ended, according to Prof. Chhatre's Tables, on Tuesday, 29th April, A. D. 1259, at 16 *gh.* 10 *pa.* (Ujjain mean time); from sunrise to the end of the *tithi* there was the *nakshatra* Punarvasu; and the solar month was Vṛishabha, the day being its fourth civil day, the sun having already entered that sign at night on Friday, 25th April. So, the three required things, the week day, the *nakshatra*, and the solar month, did exist together in Ś.-S. 1181. In Ś.-S. 1182, according to the present *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, Vaiśâkha *krishṇa pratipadâ* ended on Wednesday, 28th April, A. D. 1260, at 0 *gh.* 16 *pa.* (Ujjain mean time), and at 1 *gh.* 27 *pa*, Trichinopoly apparent time. A practical work, based on the first *Ârya-Siddhânta*,— the chief authority for the Tamiḷ solar calendar, — must have been in use at Trichinopoly and other Tamiḷ provinces at the time of the inscription in question I do not know the actual work; but it must be similar to the *Karaṇa-prakâśa*, a work composed in Śaka-Saṁvat 1014, and based on the first *Ârya-Siddhânta* with a *bîja* correction. And by the *Karaṇa-prakâśa* I find that the *tithi* ended at Trichinopoly at 2 *gh.* 58 *pa.*, apparent time. This *tithi* ended rather soon after sunrise, and therefore I calculated it from different authorities, to find whether it might end on the previous day, Tuesday, by any authority; but now I am sure that by no authority, likely to be in use in the Tamiḷ country at the time of the inscriptions in question, could it end on the Tuesday.[1] On the above Vaiśâkha *krishṇa pratipadâ*, Wednesday, the *nakshatra* was Anurâdhâ, which ended at 7 *gh.* 31 *pa.*, Ujjain mean time, and at 8 *gh.* 45 *pa.*, Trichinopoly apparent time, according to the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, and at 9 *gh.* 46 *pa.*, Trichinopoly apparent time, according to the *Karaṇa-prakâśa*; and the solar month was Vṛishabha, the day being its fourth civil day, the sun having already entered the sign Vṛishabha on the night of Saturday, 24th April, A. D. 1260. So the three required things fell together in the Śaka year 1182.

I may state here that the Śaka years 1170 and 1171, and again 1191 and 1192, are other pairs of years, in which the three required things fall together, actually or nearly. But the first of these two is more unsatisfactory than the pair of years 1184 and 1185 above described. The second pair is a little less satisfactory than the pair of years 1181 and 1182. But these two pairs are out of our limit, which has, as I have stated above, Śaka-Saṁvat 1172 and 1173 on one side and 1189 and 1190 on the other.

So, the Śaka years 1181 and 1182 expired are the only years respectively for the 9th and 10th year inscriptions of Sundara-Pâṇḍya-Jaṭâvarman. His accession must have taken place on some day from the fifth day in the solar month of Vṛishabha of Śaka-Saṁvat 1172 up to the fourth day in the same solar month of Ś.-S. 1173; or from Vaiśâkha *krishṇa dvitîyâ* of Ś.-S. 1172, to Vaiśâkha *śukla pañchamî* of Ś.-S. 1173. There being about ten or eleven months of the year 1172 and only one or two of 1173, we should, in the absence of other definite proof, prefer **the Śaka year 1172, expired, for the accession of Sundara-Pâṇḍya-Jaṭâvarman.**

There is not a single year from Śaka-Saṁvat 1170 to 1192, both inclusive, that satisfactorily fits the details of the date No. 2, *ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 344, of the 9th year inscription of **Sundara-Pâṇḍya-Mâṛavarman.** In the Śaka years 1174

[1] In the other calculations, also, in this note, I have secured as much accuracy as is required in each individual case.

and 1177, there is only a near approach of the three requirements. In these two years, Chaitra *krishna dvitîyâ* ended and *tritîyâ* commenced on a Friday, at respectively 16 *gh.* 55 *pa.* and 46 *gh.* 41 *pa.* (Ujjain mean time), according to Prof. Chhatre's Tables, and after that time only, the required things, — *krishna tritîyâ* coupled with a Friday, the *nakshatra* Viśâkhâ, and the solar month Mêsha — fell together. If the Sundara-Pâṇḍya-Mâṛavarman of this inscription of the 9th year were the same as Sundara-Pâṇḍya-Jatâvarman, the details of its date should fit Śaka-Samvat 1181; but they do not. It is certain, therefore, that Sundara-Pâṇḍya-Mâṛavarman is different from Sundara-Pâṇḍya-Jatâvarman.

SHANKAR B. DIKSHIT.

Dhulia, 10th May 1893.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

SRAHE.

Srâhe is a puzzling word, which appears in the dates of a few inscriptions in the Kanarese country (see *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 163).

I have just found another, rather different, instance of the use of it An inscription of the time of the Western Châlukya king Sômêśvara I, dated in A D. 1050, at Sûḍi in the Rôn Tâlukâ, Dhârwâr District, mentions, among the grants,—*tad-varsham-modal-âgiy-eraḍu śrâheya siddhâyam-oḷag-âgi.* This shews that there were two **srâho-days in the year**; and that certain fixed duties or taxes were paid on them. It also proves that the word is *śrâhe*; and not *aśrâhe*, as is equally possible in the other passages in which the word has been met with. But the meaning of the word still remains unexplained.

J. F. FLEET.

BOOK NOTICE.

PÂṆINI, Ein Beitrag zur Kenntniss der indischen Literatur und Grammatik. Von Bruno Liebich, *Dr. Phil.*, Leipzig. Hassel, 1891.

It is an observation as trite as it is true, that an epoch-making work, besides having an importance of its own, renders possible the production of other good books, and thereby opens out paths of investigation, which but for them would have remained closed to the most adventurous pioneers by an impassable barrier. As Gûmânî of Paṭnâ puts it:

पूर्वजशुद्धिनिषादुषि गङ्गाम्
प्रापितवान्स भगीरथभूपः।
बन्धुरभूज्जगतः परमोऽसौ
सज्जन है सब का उपकारी॥

Dr Kielhorn's Edition of the *Mahâbhâshya* is a case in point. A monument of accurate and solid learning in itself, it has incited Dr. Liebich, and made it possible for him, to write the excellent essay which forms the subject of this review.

The work may be described as having the same object as Goldstucker's well-known essay—**to determine the place of Pâṇini in Sanskṛit Literature—and it may be at once stated that the author has made a great advance in this interesting investigation.** He has had at his command materials not available to former authors, and he has employed new methods, which they had hitherto not been able to adopt. Dr Liebich's first chapter is devoted to a review of the attempts of former authors to fix the date of Pânini, from Goldstucker's suggestion of not later than 700 B. C., to that of Dr. Pischel, which puts him 1,100 years later. The author's own opinion on this point is that we have not yet sufficient ground to come to a definite conclusion, but that in all probability he came after the Buddha and before the commencement of the Christian Era: and that he was nearer the earlier than the later limit. In the second chapter the author continues the inquiry, by seeking to establish the dates of Pânini's commentators. The author of the *Kâśikâ Vṛitti*, died about 660 A. D. He was preceded by Chandragômin, who appears to have lived in the 4th or early in the 5th century A. D. Before him came Patañjali, the author of the *Mahâbhâshya*, who probably lived in the second century B C. Kâtyâyana, the author of the *Vârttika*, lived some generations before Patañjali, and Pânini was at least one generation before Kâtyâyana.

Dr. Liebich in his third chapter opens the most original and interesting portion of the work. He compares the Sanskṛit language as laid down in Pâṇini's Grammar with the actual Grammar exhibited by four stages of Sanskṛit literature, between the first and last of which he must certainly have lived. For this purpose he takes a thousand verbal forms in each of the following—(*a*) the *Aitarêya Brâhmana*, (*b*) the *Bṛihadâraṇyaka Upanishad*, (*c* the *Âśvalâyana* and *Pâraskara Grihyasûtras*, and (*d*) the *Bhagavadgîta*. The first represents the language of the older *Brâhmanas*, the second that of the later *Brâhmanas*, the third that of the *sûtras* and the fourth that of Epic poetry. Every form is compared with what Pâṇini says it

ought to have been, and each departure from his grammar is recorded and classified. Omitting irregularities which are noticed by Pâṇini himself, as belonging to the *Chhandas* or older (*i.e.* before him) language, the following is the number of forms found to be grammatically false according to his rules, out of the thousand examined in each work,—(*a*) 6, (*b*) 27, (*c*) 41, (*d*) 37. From these statistics, and from a consideration of the nature of the irregularities in each case, he comes to the following conclusions:—

1. That Pâṇini is nearest in time to the *Gṛihyasûtras*.

2. That both the *Aitarêya Brâhmaṇa* and the *Bṛihadâraṇyaka Upanishad* certainly belong to a time earlier than his.

3. That the *Bhagavadgîtâ* certainly belongs to a time later than his.

In his fourth chapter the author deals with the Pâṇini's relation to the language of India; without a clear comprehension of which it is impossible to solve the problem of the extent to which Sanskṛit was a living speech. The author first gives a brief *résumé* of the various propositions on this point which have hitherto been advanced, in which I may notice that he omits to mention Senart's arguments, contained in his essays on the Inscriptions of Piyadasi. His own opinion is that Pâṇini taught the language spoken in India at his time, that the Sanskṛit which he taught was, syntactically, practically identical with that of the *Brâhmaṇas* and of the *Sûtras*, and that in grammar, it only differed from the *Brâhmaṇas* by the absence of a few ancient forms, most of which were specially noted by him as Vedic peculiarities, and from the *Sûtras* by the omission to notice certain loosely used forms, such as those which exist in every language beside the stricter ones enjoined by grammar.

In suggesting that Pâṇini taught in his grammar the Aryan language, in the form in which it was at the time generally spoken even by the educated in India, I think Dr. Liebich goes too far. **That Pâṇini, in his grammar, illustrated a language which was spoken at the time by some persons, and probably by himself, is possible, and may be allowed; but I, for one, cannot admit that that language was in Pâṇini's time the general spoken language of India, or even of North-Western India.** One fact alone makes the thing seem to me impossible. Pânini probably lived somewhere about 300 B. C., but supposing him to have lived a hundred years earlier or a hundred years later, in the matter of the growth of a language really makes very little difference. Now we know that the Vêdic hymns, which, in their original forms, were in the vernacular language of the people who first sang them, existed certainly some centuries before Pânini. The older *Brâhmaṇas*, equally certainly were composed some centuries before Pâṇini's time, and finally, the *Sûtras* were composed about his time. On the other hand, the Aśôka Inscriptions, which were in the vernacular language of the Court of Magadha, were fifty, or at most a hundred and fifty, years later than Pânini. Now, taking Pânini's own time as the standpoint and looking backwards and forward, what do we see? Looking backward, through a long vista of centuries we see the hymns of the *Vêdas*, the searchings of the *Brâhmaṇas* and the teachings of the *Sûtras*, all couched in what is practically one and the same language. The oldest hymns of the *Ṛig Vêda* have ancient forms, and it may be argued that we should exclude them,—be it so. Between the oldest *Brâhmaṇas* and Pânini at least one century must have elapsed, and the language of the *Brâhmaṇas* and the language of Pâṇini are identical. Between Paṇini and Aśôka, certainly not more than a century and a half elapsed, and the language of Aśôka is as different from that treated by Pâṇini, as Italian is from Latin. Nay, this was the case, although the people of Aśôka's time had Pâṇini's Grammar before them as a guide, and though the Aśôka Inscriptions show plain signs of a striving after style more in accordance with the teachings of the Sanskṛit schools than the existing vernacular of the day. Aśôkâ, it is true, lived in Eastern Hindûstan, and Pâṇini in the North-west, but that can be of little weight. It is impossible to suppose that, while language developed along its natural lines in the east, that development remained arrested in the west.

Those, therefore, who maintain that Pâṇini wrote a grammar of the language generally spoken at his time must account for two things. Before his time, for at least a hundred years [1] the vernacular language remained, fixed, unchanged, in a state of arrested development. After, his time, during at most a century and a half, and possibly during only half a century, the same vernacular language underwent a course of decay or development, as great as the development of Latin into Italian. This, too, during a time when it had before it Pâṇini's great Grammar to keep it straight, in the right way, and to

[1] Of course I do not for a moment suggest that the oldest *Brâhmaṇas* were only a hundred years older than Pâṇini. I am only stating the case in the most favourable way I can for the other side.

arrest its development, as suddenly and fixedly as the development of Sanskṛit was arrested. The assumption of such two conditions of existence in two periods of a language's history, one of which immediately succeeds the other, is too violent to be credible.

But I have admitted that it is possible that at the time of Pâṇini, Sanskṛit was a spoken language. If it was not spoken by the common people, by whom was it spoken? The answer is, by the schools.

From the earliest times the Brâhmaṇs devoted themselves to the study of the language of their sacred books, and no doubt they used it amongst themselves, in the schools, as a medium of disputation, and, perhaps, even, of ordinary intercourse. In later times we find, in the *Râmâyaṇa*, Hanumân considering whether he should address Sîtâ in Sanskṛit or in Prâkṛit, and no doubt this illustrated the state of affairs in Pâṇini's time as well. Brâhmaṇs could address each other in the holy language, which they so carefully studied and kept up in its integrity, but in communication with the outer world beyond the boundaries of their schools, they had to use that vernacular language of the people, which, descended from the dialects in which the Vedic Hymns were first composed, passed, regularly and inevitably, in the course of centuries, into (amongst others) the language of Aśôka, and thence into that of Hâla and of Tulasî Dâs. Call that Vernacular language what you will, so long as it is not called Sanskṛit. Many things add proof to the existence of this vernacular language at the time when Sanskṛit was fixed,—nay, Sanskṛit itself bears witness to it itself, on its very face, in the way in which it has borrowed some of these vernacular words, in their vernacular forms, and then retransferred them, by a process of reversed etymology into what it imagined to be their original Vedic forms. Its mistakes in this process of reversion betray the secret.[2] No doubt in speaking Sanskṛit in the schools many things were referred to, of which the original Vedic name was forgotten, and of which the vernacular form had perforce to be used in a form dressed up for the occasion.[3] In short, Sanskṛit was used in the schools in Pâṇini's time much as Latin was used in the schools in the Middle Ages. It was habitually used and spoken as a scholastic language, and in the course of time had even branched out into scholastic dialects, as Dr. Liebich's statistics of the *Sûtras* show.

I think, therefore, that Dr. Liebich goes too far, if I understand him aright, when he says that Pâṇini's Sanskṛit was 'the spoken, the living speech of the learned men of his time.' Unless he means by this that it was merely a school language of the learned, entirely distinct from the general language of Hindûstân, also spoken by, and actually the vernacular even of, these learned men, I cannot but consider him, and the many who agree with him, to be labouring under a false impression.

In concluding this subject, Dr Liebich's classification of the various stages of the Sanskṛit language may be given here. He divides them as follows:—

I. Ante-classical
   The *Saṁhitas* of the four *Vêdas*.

II. Classical
   (*a*) *Brâhmaṇas* and *Sûtras*.
   (*b*) Pâṇini's teaching.

III. Post-classical
   (*a*) Literature not governed by Pâṇini: The Epic poems.
   (*b*) Literature arisen under the influence of Pâṇini: the language of Kâlidâsa, &c.

In the fifth chapter Dr. Liebich combats Prof. Whitney's attacks on the Sanskṛit grammatical school in general, and in the sixth he applies the statistics already given to deciding whether any portions of the *Bṛihadâraṇyaka Upanishad* and of the *Aitarêya Brâhmaṇa* are older or more modern than other portions; but I must refer the reader to both these essays directly; as the demands of space do not allow me to describe their contents. Suffice it to say that with regards to the Kâṇva Recension of the former, he considers the whole of it (with a reservation regarding the 5th book) to be earlier than Pâṇini. So also the *Aitarêya Brâhmaṇa* with the exception of the 31st *Adhyâya*.

This excellent and most interesting book concludes with two useful appendices, in which the author explains the Paninian teaching on the genus (*pada*) of the Verb, and on the formation of the Feminine of nouns.

[2] An example is the Sanskṛit *aṅgâra*, sugarcane sprouts, which I have referred to (*ante*, p. 166) in reviewing Dr. Macdonell's *Sanskṛit Dictionary*. This word is manufactured from the old Prâkṛit *aggaa'a*. Sanskṛit took *aggaada*, and by a mistaken etymology assumed that it was derived from *aṅgâra*, and therefore it declared that *aṅgâra* was the Sanskṛit word for sugarcane sprout. Really, the word is derived from *agra* with pleonastic *ḍa* (quasi *dṛiś*). There are many examples of this sort.

[3] Just as Father Tom said to the Pope in their immortal conversation: 'Dimidium cyathi vero apud metropolitanos Hibernicos dicitur *dandaus* (a dandy!)'

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